





SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF COTTON PRODUCTION IN ARKANSAS

BY

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

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IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY  
SUPERVISION BY PAUL HARWOOD MILLAR

ENTITLED SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF COTTON PRODUCTION IN  
ARKANSAS

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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(a) But there were some exceptions.

3. How this situation has changed, 1880-1890.

(a) Frenzy for cotton growing, due to high prices, and a very rapid expansion of area of improved land led to a maladjustment of the location of the cotton acreage.

(b) Increase in proportion of the cotton acreage to the acreage of other crops was practically the same for the uplands as for the bottoms.

4. How the situation changed, 1890-1910.

(a) This was a period of readjustment: frenzy for cotton planting had subsided with the coming of low prices, and land was being put under cultivation at a much less rapid rate.

(b) By the end of the period, with two exceptions, the infertile areas were being lightly planted, the fertile areas heavily planted.

(1) These exceptions are accounted for by (1) invasion of boll weevil, and (2) competition of peculiarly adapted crops.

5. Cotton acreage is concentrated in the sections most favorable as regards soil, climate, and topography, because it is the most profitable crop which can be grown.

6. Why there is a tendency for this concentration to increase.

(a) The railroads were apparently not a factor.

(b) The movement was merely toward a more perfect adjustment to natural resources.

(c) Limits of the increase in concentration are: (1) labor supply, (2) necessity for growing feed at home.

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## III. THE NEGRO AND COTTON PRODUCTION . . . . . 24-37

## I. Proportion of Negro Farmers in 1900 and 1910 Varied directly with Proportion of Land in Cotton.

1. There are exceptions to this statement, a study of which suggests that factors other than type of farming may affect the distribution of the negro. These seem to be:

- (a) Climate.

- (b) Healthfulness.

- (c) Race of original settlers.

## II. The Negro and Cotton Production are Closely Associated because:

1. The negro is more familiar with the cotton crop than with any other.
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## II. An examination of statistics for the individual counties indicates that the principal determiners of tenancy are (1) the price of land, (2) the color of farmer.

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2. Without exception tenancy is more prevalent among negroes than among whites.
3. Type of farming seems to have had little influence upon proportion of tenancy, either among negroes or whites.



- III. Tenancy has increased more rapidly, 1880-1910, in Arkansas than in the United States, and in the heavily planted than in the lightly planted counties. This may be ascribed.
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    - (b) Because poverty is perpetuated by thriftlessness, absence of ambition and by the crop lien system.
    - (c) Census statistics, however, exaggerate the amount of negro tenancy; for plantation tenants are little more than laborers.
  3. The single crop system per se is undoubtedly adapted to tenancy, but this influence is probably offset by the adaptation of the crop to farms of small size.

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## CHAPTER I

### REQUIREMENTS OF THE COTTON CROP AS REGARDS LAND, LABOR, AND CAPITAL

Of all the staple field crops, cotton makes the least exacting demands upon the soil. Wheat uses, acre for acre, twice as much, corn seven times as much, of the essential plant foods as does cotton.<sup>1</sup> So we find cotton grown upon the poorest of soils - soils which would scarcely make seed corn.<sup>2</sup> But the cotton thrives on land which will barely support the other staples, it responds to fertile soils no less readily than do corn and wheat: yields are proportional to fertility.<sup>3</sup>

Smoothness and levelness of the land make cotton growing easier; but wherever it is possible to get a plow, topography can offer no serious obstacle to the cultivation of the crop. For the implements used are very simple. Good farming, however, requires that cotton shall not be grown on steep hillsides: it is a clean-cultivated crop, and erosion rapidly impairs fertility. Cotton requires a considerable amount of moisture, the more because the temperatures of the South range high. What is the optimum amount and distribution it is impossible to say; but nowhere in the humid region of the South is cotton production seriously handicapped by either excess, shortage, or undesirable distribution of rainfall.<sup>4</sup>

Cotton is a concentrated crop. A team which can haul 50 bushels of wheat, worth fifty dollars, will haul three bales of cotton, worth two

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<sup>1</sup>Burkett and Poe, Cotton, 123.

<sup>2</sup>Only short staple cotton is considered - none other is grown in Arkansas.

<sup>3</sup>The some lands may be so rich as to cause excessive vegetation, thus decreasing yield, U.S.D.A., Bull. 33, 157.

<sup>4</sup>This statement applies, only, of course, to long periods of time.





hundred and twenty-five dollars. Cotton is not perishable. So it can be raised at a considerable distance from market; and speed and regularity of transportation are not necessary.

As far as climate is concerned, the amount of spread between the dates of the first and last killing frosts determine whether or not cotton can be profitably raised. Where the climate is so cool that planting must be relatively late, an early frost is certain to catch many of the bolls before they are mature, and thus limit yield to such an extent that no profit remains. But where early planting is possible, and frost comes late, most of the bolls will reach maturity, and a full and hence profitable crop results. A high temperature thruout the first five months of the growing season is also necessary; but since wherever the growing season is long high temperatures prevail, length of growing season may be regarded as the limiting factor.

In raising an acre of corn 24 hours of man labor are used; of wheat 12 hours.<sup>1</sup> For an acre of cotton 80 to 140 hours are necessary.<sup>2</sup> In corn production cost of man labor is 22.7 per cent of total cost; in wheat production, 10.6 per cent.<sup>3</sup> In cotton production from 36 to 47 per cent of the total is for man labor.<sup>4</sup> In comparison with the other staple crops, then, cotton requires an excessive amount of human labor, as regards both quantity and cost. As to its distribution, approximately one-half is demanded during the growing season - when other crops, if they are made, also need attention. The other

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<sup>1</sup>Mo. Ag. Ex. Bull. 125, 304.

<sup>2</sup>From data on cost of cotton production in Arkansas, secured by the writer in 1917.

<sup>3</sup>Mo. Bull. 125, 305, 306.

<sup>4</sup>Data secured by the writer.



half - that required for picking - comes in late fall or early winter when agricultural labor would otherwise be idle. So that, only including the season in which the farmer's labor is valuable, cotton requires from two to eight times as much attention as do the other staple crops.

Tho the crop makes very exacting demands as to quantity, quality does not matter. Any one who can put a mule before a plow can raise cotton. For there is no complicated machinery to handle, and chopping and picking can be done as rapidly and efficiently by women and children as by men.

The crop's demands on capital are very modest. For storage, aside from a few inexpensive sheds, buildings are seldom required. The seed cotton is usually ginned as soon as picked and sold immediately - or if not the big tree in the front yard serves as a warehouse. There has been developed no highly specialized or expensive machinery for the cotton grower. The same plow, harrow, planter, and cultivator that make the corn crop make cotton, and nothing better has been found. Add to these a garden hoe and a canvas sack with a strap on the end, and the implement requirements of the cotton crop have been fulfilled. Additional machinery investment means fancy farming.

Cotton requires, then, a long hot growing season and an abundant labor supply, and when it is added that, tho it is better adapted to poor lands than are the other staples, yields are in proportion to fertility of soil, the most significant peculiarities of the crop have been exhausted. As for kind of topography, amount of rainfall, presence or absence of a convenient market, quality of labor, and amount of available capital - these factors are relatively unimportant, inasmuch as they are not limiting factors; tho most of them are quite significant from the economic point of view, as will appear later.





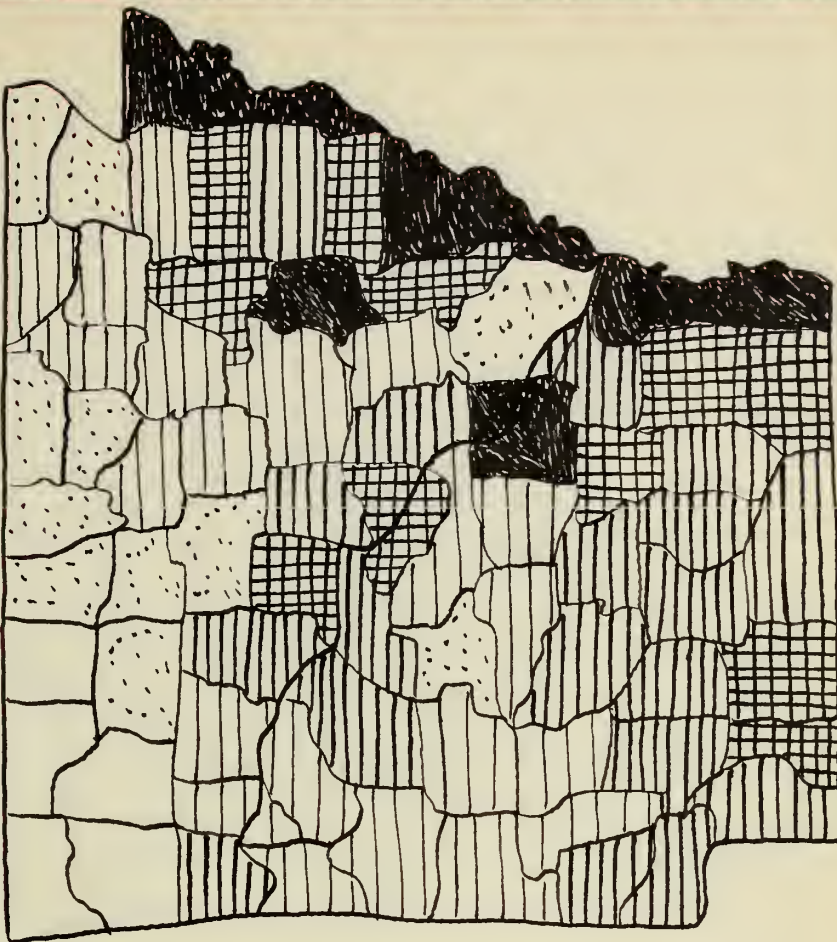
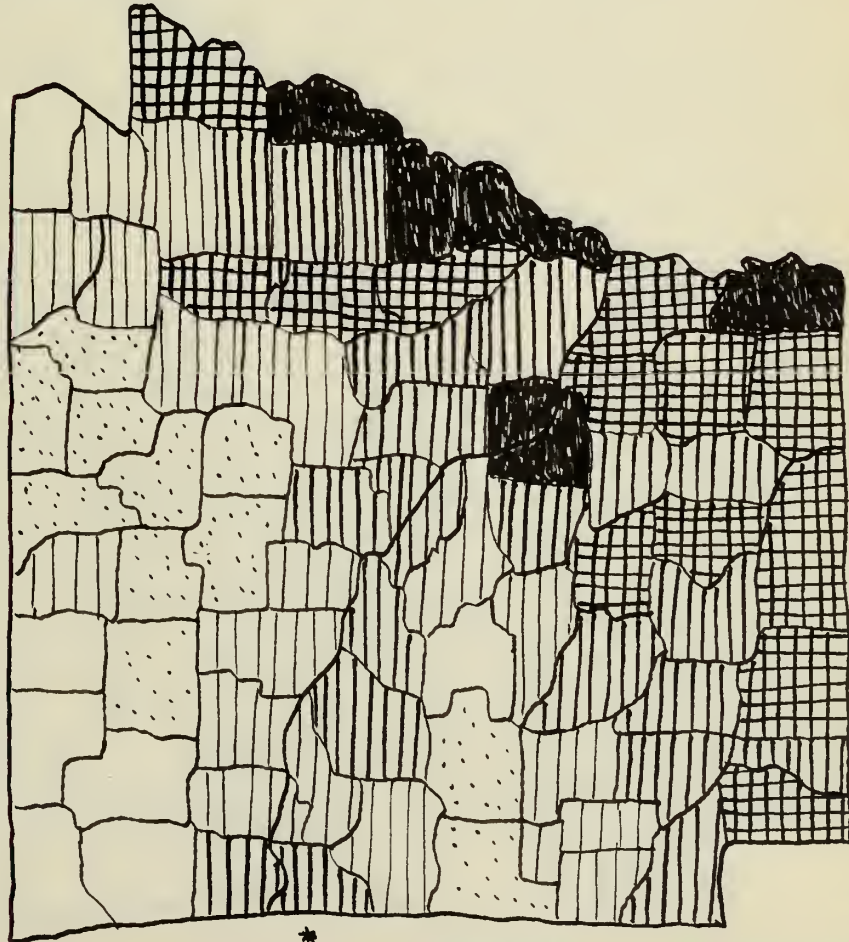
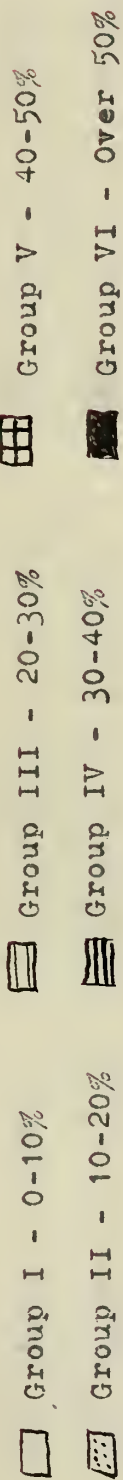






Map III. Percentage of Improved Land in Cotton, by Counties, 1900

Percentage of Improved Acreage in Cotton:



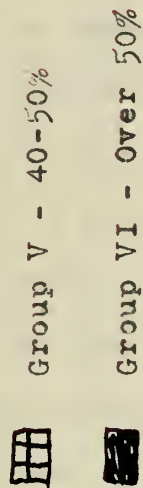
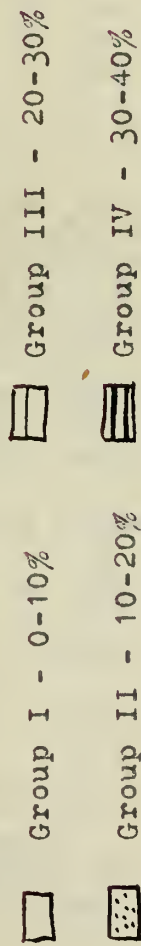
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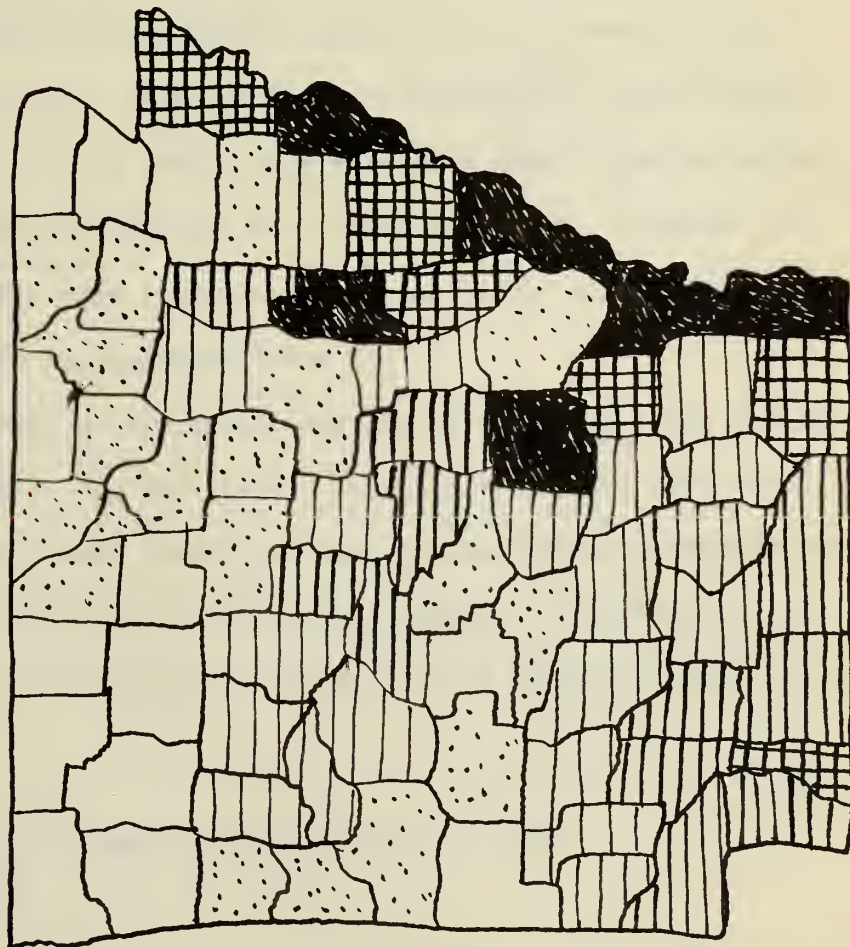


Map V. Percentage of Improved Land  
in Cotton, 1900.

Percentage of Improved Acreage in Cotton.



Map VI. Percentage of Improved Land in Cotton,  
1910





## Chapter II

### WHERE THE COTTON CROP OF ARKANSAS IS PRODUCED

A line drawn diagonally across the state from northeast to southwest<sup>1</sup> marks, in a rough way, the division between the hill lands and the level country. Above this line lie the Boston and Ozark ranges, which soften into low foothills as it is approached. Below is the dead level of the alluvial plains and prairies, and the gently rolling sandy uplands.

By far the largest part of the cotton acreage is below this line. If we group the counties of the state according to percentage of improved area planted to cotton, placing in Groups I, II, and III those counties which plant less than 10 per cent, 10 to 20 per cent, and 20 to 30 per cent, respectively, and designating these three groups as lightly planted, and placing in groups III, IV, and V those counties which plant from 30 to 40 per cent, 40 to 50 per cent, and over 50 per cent, respectively, and designating these groups as heavily planted, we find that in 1880<sup>2</sup> there were only three counties belonging to the heavily planted groups which were above this line. Moreover this line divides the state into approximately equal parts, almost 70 per cent of the entire crop of 1880 was produced below it.

This concentration of the cotton acreage on the level lands has become even more pronounced by the year 1910. On the accompanying maps the counties of the state are shaded heavily or lightly, according to whether they belong to the heavily planted or lightly planted groups. A comparison of the map of 1880 with the map of 1910 shows that by 1910 the amount of heavy shading

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<sup>1</sup>See map II.

<sup>2</sup>No records of cotton acreage were taken prior to 1880.

<sup>3</sup>Tenth Census, V, 575.





below the line has greatly increased, while the counties above have as a rule become lighter. There are, indeed, 5 counties of Group IV above the line in 1910, but these lie along the Arkansas, where the Ozark foothills subside into the river valley. The general tendency, then, is unmistakable: the production of cotton is coming to be concentrated more and more on the level lands, the land which, as has been noted is best suited to its culture, while it is being grown less and less upon the hill lands, to which the crop is ill-adapted.

This tendency of the crop to shift to the areas best suited to its culture is further illustrated in the study of its distribution as regards climate. The length of growing season for Arkansas varies from 190 days in the northwestern to 235 days in the southern part of the state;<sup>1</sup> the mean annual temperature from 57 degrees in the northwest, to 64 degrees in the southeast.<sup>2</sup> Tho cotton can be grown thruout the whole of this wide range, as the limits are approached shortness of growing season and low temperatures seriously curtail the crop. Accordingly we find, in 1880, that no county above the isothermic line of 58 degrees, which cuts the northern part of the state from the southwest to the northeast, plants more than 10 per cent of its area to cotton,<sup>3</sup> and that the isothermic line of 61 degrees, running in the same general direction marks the northern limit for counties planting over 30 per cent. In 1910 the line of 61 degrees still forms the northern boundary for heavy planting, and comparison of the maps shows that most of the counties above this line are now more lightly shaded than in 1880. Just as cotton is forsaking the hills for the more favorable lowlands, so it is shifting southward, where long

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<sup>1</sup>Average number of days between first and last killing frosts. Ark. Bull. 130.

<sup>2</sup>Blaissdell's Map of Arkansas.

<sup>3</sup>There is one exception, Crawford county.



seasons and hot weather bring out the best there is in the crop.

This tendency toward specialization according to adaptation is likewise revealed when we study distribution of the cotton acreage as regards soil fertility. We find that cotton has always been grown most extensively on the fertile soils of the state, and that during the last three decades there has been a distinct shift in acreage from the poorer to the richer lands.

From the standpoint of soil fertility there are two kinds of land in Arkansas - bottom land, and that which is not bottom land. This is a rough classification, for the Tenth Census lists five types of agricultural soils.<sup>1</sup> But it is adequate for our purpose. The bottom lands are rich, the rest - which we will call upland, tho there are included large tracts of prairie land and low rolling land which are not uplands proper - is poor. Bottom lands compare favorably in fertility with good corn belt land. In 1880 they averaged .69 bales of cotton per acre; uplands for the same year averaged only .54 bales.<sup>2</sup> The degree of difference in fertility is, then, very considerable.

Map I shows the location of the bottom lands. They are the old flood plains of the Mississippi, the Arkansas, the White, the St. Francis, the Red, and the Onichata rivers, which for centuries past have been enriched just as was the valley of the Nile of old. The most extensive alluvial lands lie in those counties which border the Mississippi. Some of these are 100 per cent alluvium. Several counties in the St. Francis, Red, and White river valleys, and a few along the lower reaches of the Arkansas, also have consid-

<sup>1</sup>Tenth Census, Vol. V, 548.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 576.





erable areas of Alluvium. Below are listed the counties in which 15 per cent or more of the land is bottom.<sup>1</sup>

Table I. Per cent of all Land which is Alluvial, by Counties.

| County       | : | Per cent of Land which is Alluvial |
|--------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Crittenden   | : | 100                                |
| Mississippi  | : | 100                                |
| Phillips     | : | 100*                               |
| Monroe       | : | 100*                               |
| Lee          | : | 100*                               |
| Woodruff     | : | 100*                               |
| St. Francis  | : | 100*                               |
| Cross        | : | 100*                               |
| Poinsett     | : | 100*                               |
| Craighead    | : | 100*                               |
| Greene       | : | 100*                               |
| Clay         | : | 100*                               |
| Jackson      | : | 84*                                |
| Chicot       | : | 75                                 |
| Desha        | : | 55                                 |
| Jefferson    | : | 51                                 |
| Lawrence     | : | 50                                 |
| Miller       | : | 50                                 |
| Lonoke       | : | 37                                 |
| Ashley       | : | 26                                 |
| Lincoln      | : | 26                                 |
| Arkansas     | : | 20                                 |
| Lafayette    | : | 20                                 |
| Little River | : | 20                                 |
| Bradley      | : | 17                                 |
| Randolph     | : | 16                                 |
| Calhoun      | : | 15                                 |
| Pulaski      | : | 15                                 |

\*Includes Crowley's Ridge Alluvium, an alluvial soil of inferior fertility.

Of these 28 counties in which fifteen per cent or more of the land is alluvium, all but five have over 30 per cent of their area in cotton - that is,

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<sup>1</sup>Tenth Census, V, 585 et. seq.



they are heavily planted. And these five, Craighead, Greene, Clay, Randolph, and Lawrence, form the northern extremity of the tier of alluvial counties bordering the Mississippi, lying above the isothermic line of 61 degrees, which marks the limit for heavy planting thruout the state. Since they differ from the counties below them in no way but in severity of climate, it may be inferred that they, too, would have been equally as heavily planted if their growing season were as long and their temperatures as high.

Turning now to those counties which contain little or no alluvial lands, we find that of the total of 46, thirty three, or over seven tenths, are planting less than 30 per cent of their acreage in cotton - that is, are lightly planted. Of the 14 upland counties which are heavily planted, two very distinct groups may be distinguished: (1) a group of 10 adjoining counties located in the south central part of the state, and (2) four counties, <sup>of them</sup> three, adjoining, which lie in the valley of the upper Arkansas.

Tho the counties of the latter group include relatively little alluvial land, their soils are much more fertile than those of the average upland county. Cotton yields, in bales per acre, for these four counties, are given for 1880 as follows:<sup>1</sup>

|          |   |     |       |     |      |
|----------|---|-----|-------|-----|------|
| Yell     | - | .63 | bales | per | acre |
| Perry    | - | .65 | "     | "   | "    |
| Faulkner | - | .55 | "     | "   | "    |
| Crawford | - | .56 | "     | "   | "    |

Yields for each county are above the average for the uplands taken as a whole, (.54).

Turning to group (1), however, we find that the opposite is the case. Yields of the nine counties comprising this group were, for 1880,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>10th Census, V, 539.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



|           |   |     |       |     |      |
|-----------|---|-----|-------|-----|------|
| Drew      | - | .46 | bales | per | acre |
| Hempstead | - | .52 | "     | "   | "    |
| Ouichata  | - | .37 | "     | "   | "    |
| Columbia  | - | .40 | "     | "   | "    |
| Dorsey    | - | .40 | "     | "   | "    |
| Grant     | - | .41 | "     | "   | "    |
| Dallas    | - | .43 | "     | "   | "    |
| Clark     | - | .55 | "     | "   | "    |
| Nevada    | - | .44 | "     | "   | "    |
| Union     | - | .37 | "     | "   | "    |

If yield of cotton is a proper criterion, these counties include the poorest lands in the state.<sup>1</sup> All but one of them fall below the average yield for the upland counties, most of them far below.

Such, then, was the situation in 1880. Every one of the alluvial counties, barring those in which the climate may prevent the making of a full crop, had a relatively large proportion (over 30 per cent) of its improved acreage in cotton, while of the upland counties less than three tenths were heavily planted. Moreover, of this exceptional three tenths, nearly one third have soils considerably above the average in fertility. In spite of the fact that nine of the poorest counties of the state were heavily planted, the concentration of the cotton acreage on the fertile soils was very apparent.

The three decades included between 1880 and 1910 saw a remarkable expansion of the cotton acreage of Arkansas.

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<sup>1</sup>In fact, Ouichata county, with .37 bales per acre is the lowest yielding county.





Table 2. Tilled Land, and Cotton Acreage and Production,  
1880 to 1910

|                               |             | :Per cent of:          |                |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------|
| :Tilled Land:Acres in Cotton: |             | Tilled Land:Production |                |
| Year:                         | Acres :     | : in Cotton :          | Bales          |
| 1880:                         | 3,431,900 : | 1,042,976 :            | 30.4 : 608,256 |
| 1890:                         | 5,475,043 : | 1,700,578 :            | 31.0 : 691,494 |
| 1900:                         | 6,953,735 : | 1,641,855 :            | 23.6 : 705,928 |
| 1910:                         | 8,076,254 : | 2,153,222 :            | 26.6 : 776,879 |
| :                             | :           | :                      | :              |

From a little over a million acres in 1880, cotton acreage had increased to 1,700,000 acres in 1890, and to slightly over two million acres in 1910. But at the same time new land was being brought into cultivation. For the first of the three decades, increase in improved area and increase in cotton area were nearly proportional: in 1880, 30.4 per cent and in 1890, 31.0 per cent of the improved area was in cotton. In the two decades following, however, land was being cleared much more rapidly than cotton acreage was increasing, so that by 1910 only 26.6 per cent of the improved lands of the state were in cotton.

This era of expansion is characterized, then, by two very distinct periods. In the first, new land is being brought under cultivation and cotton acreage is being increased at correspondingly rapid rates; in the second the clearing of the land is proceeding at a more rapid rate than is increase in planting. During the first period, when clearing and cotton planting are increasing at the same rate, for the state as a whole, what is the situation as regards the poor and the fertile soils of the state? Does the fact that the same proportion of land was planted to cotton in 1890 as was in cotton in 1880 mean that this condition is uniform thruout the state, or may it not be that





the per cent of acreage in cotton is increasing in the case of the alluvial lands, and decreasing for the uplands?

Of the 24 counties having 15 per cent or more of alluvial lands,<sup>1</sup> 14 increased the proportion of their cotton acreage between 1880 and 1890. Of the 34 counties having under 15 per cent of alluvial land,<sup>1</sup> 19 increased, 15 decreased, their proportion of plantings. Thus it is seen that 61 per cent of the fertile counties, as against only 56 per cent of the upland counties increased their proportion of plantings during the decade. As to the 10 infertile upland counties which were heavily planted in 1880, 5 have increased and 5 decreased their proportion of cotton, while of the group of four richer ones, all have increased their proportion. During the decade 1880-1890, then, tho we note a slight tendency for the farmers on the rich lands to give more attention to cotton, the farmers on the poor lands to give less, the situation has remained almost unchanged.

The period 1890-1910 may be regarded as one of readjustment following a period of very rapid expansion, both in area of improved land and of cotton acreage. For the expansion of both continued, it continued at a much less rapid rate. From 1880 to 1890 the area of tilled land had increased 60 per cent; during the twenty years following the increase was only 47 per cent. Cotton acreage increased, from 1880 to 1890, 63 per cent; from 1890 to 1910 only 26 per cent. During the first of these periods, when supply of available lands and demand for cotton were changing at such a rapid and necessarily unpredictable rate, it was natural than maladjustments as regards both extent and location of the cotton acreage should prevail. Too much land, not only

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<sup>1</sup>For the sake of a fair comparison counties lying above the isothermic line of 60° are not included



in Arkansas but thruout the South was devoted to cotton, so that the price fell from 15 cents per pound in 1875 to 6.5 cents in 1895. In response to this fall in price, between 1890 and 1910 tho the absolute acreage of cotton had somewhat increased, relative acreage had decreased from 31 per cent to 26 per cent. In this period of readjustment - or rather of slowing up - following a period of too rapid expansion, who would be likely to have planted relatively less of their land to cotton, the farmers on the poor lands, or those on the bottoms?

Of the 25 alluvial counties, eighteen, or 75 per cent had decreased their acreage between 1890 and 1910. Of the 34 upland counties 32, or 94 per cent, had decreased their acreage. Moreover, in this period seven of the 10 infertile upland counties which were heavily planted in 1880 and 1890 have decreased their cotton acreage to such an extent that they are now included among the lightly planted groups.

Thus tho the concentration of the cotton acreage on the fertile lands was very apparent in 1880, in 1910 it was even more sharply defined. But there are numerous exceptions, even in 1910. First, there is a group of alluvial counties which are lightly planted. These are Little River, Miller, and Lafayette, lying in the Red River valley, at the south western corner of the state. An explanation of why these fertile counties should be, in 1910, lightly planted, seems easy. As late as 1900 these counties were heavily planted. Lafayette was planting 42.2 per cent, Little River 38.6 per cent, and Miller 32.9 per cent of improved acreage to cotton. In 1906 the boll weevil, on its march from Texas, entered the south western corner of the state<sup>2</sup> and has re-

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<sup>1</sup>The exceptions are Columbia, Hempstead, and Drew.

<sup>2</sup>See Map II.





mained since. It is the history of the boll weevil that diversification follows in its wake: for where the boll weevil appears, profits in cotton are reduced, and more reliance must be placed on other crops. Accordingly we find that in 1910 Lafayette County planted only 26.8 per cent of its improved area to cotton, Little River 26.7 per cent and Miller 25 per cent. The fact that this marked decrease in cotton farming on fertile lands is coincident with the boll weevil invasion is, when the well-known effects of the boll weevil on that type of farming are taken into consideration, rather conclusive evidence that the two are cause and effect.

Secondly, there are two groups of upland counties which are heavily planted. (1) Three counties, Columbia, Hempstead, and Drew, the only counties of the group of ten infertile counties previously discussed which remain heavily planted in 1910. Tho we will still have to rank these as heavily planted counties, it should be noted that they are barely above the line of division and that from 1880 to 1910 their proportionate cotton acreage has undergone a rapid decrease. In 1880, Columbia, Hempstead, and Drew counties had 40.4 per cent, 35.3 per cent, and 40.7 per cent, respectively, of their acreage in cotton, while by 1910 they had decreased these percentages to 36.7, 30.7, and 31.6, respectively. (2) A group of five upland counties, lying in central Arkansas on either side of the Arkansas river, which are heavily planted. These are Pope, Yell, Perry, Conway, and Faulkner. These counties, however, have been increasing their proportionate cotton acreage, tho in most cases at no very rapid rate.



The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one. It is a complex system, and the complexity is not only in the number of components, but also in the way they are connected. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one. It is a dynamic system, and the dynamics are not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time. The third is the fact that the system is not a linear one. It is a non-linear system, and the non-linearity is not only in the way the components interact, but also in the way the system evolves over time.

These three facts are the basis of the system's complexity.

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Table 3. Percentage of Improved Land in Cotton, 1880 to 1890,  
and Yields per Acre, 1880.

| County   | :Improved land in cotton: |        | Yield bales per acre |     |
|----------|---------------------------|--------|----------------------|-----|
|          | : 1880                    | : 1910 | : 1880               |     |
|          | :                         | :      | :                    |     |
| Pope     | : 23.8                    | : 32.1 | :                    | .57 |
| Yell     | : 30.1                    | : 32.1 | :                    | .63 |
| Perry    | : 32.4                    | : 33.4 | :                    | .65 |
| Conway   | : 29.7                    | : 39.1 | :                    | .6  |
| Faulkner | : 30.                     | : 32.1 | :                    | .55 |
| Uplands  | :(average)                | :      | :                    | .54 |

A comparison of cotton yields in 1880 shows, moreover, that these counties are well above the average of fertility of the upland counties.

Thirdly, Arkansas county, an alluvial county of the Arkansas River bottoms, shifted in 1890 from the heavily to the lightly planted group, and in 1910 was planting less than 10 per cent of its area to cotton. The explanation of this remarkable shift appears to be as follows. Only 20 per cent of the county is alluvium. The remainder is gray silt prairie, which, it was thought before rice culture was introduced was good for nothing but the wild grass which grew there. As Arkansas county, according to the 10th census, produced no hay in 1880, it may be inferred that the improved lands were confined to the alluvium. It is not surprising, then, to find that in 1880, 35 per cent of the improved land was in cotton. However, by 1890 altho improved acreage had doubled, cotton acreage remained practicably the same. The increase was due, apparently to the taking under "cultivation"<sup>1</sup> of the prairie lands, over twenty two thousand acres of which were mowed in that year. In

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<sup>1</sup>The Census classes all mown lands as cultivated, irrespective of whether they are ever tilled.



Table 4. Acreage of Improved Land, and of Cotton, Hay and Rice, Arkansas County, 1880-1910.

|       | : Acres    | : Acres  | : Acres | : Acres | : Acres |
|-------|------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
|       | : Improved | : in     | : in    | : in    | : in    |
|       | : Land     | : Cotton | : Hay   | : Rice  | : Corn  |
| 1880: | 38,991     | 12,611   |         |         | 10,248  |
| 1890: | 76,980     | 13,714   | 22,618  |         | 14,458  |
| 1900: | 112,111    | 13,611   | 31,763  |         | 23,128  |
| 1910: | 173,458    | 15,206   | 23,665  | 14,814  | 15,265  |

1900 there is a further increase in hay acreage, while cotton acreage remains stationary, and the same is true in 1910, except that a part of the hay acreage has been put to rice, so it seems that the small percentage of cotton acreage in Arkansas county is due primarily to the small percentage of rich lands which it contains, and to the fact that the poor lands of the county are peculiarly adopted to special crops, i.e., hay and rice, and not to any diminution of plantings on its rich lands.

To sum up the results of the study of the relation between cotton planting and climate, topography, and soils: There can be no doubt that the richer the soil and the more favorable to cotton culture are climate and topography, the greater is the cotton acreage as compared with the acreage of other crops grown. This was true in 1880; for with the exception of one group of ten counties, which in spite of their infertility were heavily planted, those counties in which the land is comparatively level, the climate warm, and the soil rich were planting over 30 per cent of their improved area to cotton, while those counties which are either very hilly, which have a comparatively cool summer and a short growing season, or whose soils are poor, were planting to cotton less than 30 per cent of their improved land. If in 1880 this discrimination by the crop in favor of the more fertile, more level, and warmer





sections of the state is so plainly seen, it is even more clear cut in 1910: the ten infertile counties which were heavily planted in 1880 are now, with two exceptions, lightly planted, and even these have greatly reduced their proportionate cotton acreage; there has been a slight but well defined tendency for the fertile, level and warm counties to increase the proportion of their acreage in cotton, and for the proportion of cotton acreage to decrease in those in which the soil is poor, the growing season short, and the land hilly; and tho there are several counties of fertile soils and favorable climate and topography which are now lightly planted, it is because the boll weevil has rendered their cotton crop unprofitable.

Two facts, then, are to be noted: (1) Cotton planting is concentrated in those sections of the state in which the soil, the climate, and the topography are the most favorable to the production of the crop. (2) This concentration became more marked during the 30 year period 1880-1910.

The explanation of the first of these facts is very easy. Where the growing season is long and hot enough so that yields are not impaired, and where the land is sufficiently level that the clean cultivation necessary for the cotton crop does not result in excessive soil erosion and consequent infertility, cotton is the most profitable crop which can be grown. This is the judgment of both the farmers and the Experiment Stations. According to the Twelfth Census,<sup>1</sup> "The cultivation of corn is less expensive than cultivation of cotton, but at the lowest price that cotton has reached since 1860 it would insure a greater gross income than corn." Since the lowest price was six

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<sup>1</sup>Vol. VI, 107.



cents per pound (1898), less than one-half the average price for the years 1909 to 1913, the superior profitableness of the cotton<sup>crop</sup> when prices of cotton are normal is readily seen.<sup>1</sup> And since cotton is the most profitable crop where the conditions of climate and topography are met, it follows that the most fertile soils will be used for its production, for it is only by using them for cotton that the largest rent can be secured. Since this is the case it might be expected that the total improved acreage of the fertile counties would be devoted to cotton, so that even the small acreage planted in the relatively infertile or marginal counties would be forced out of cotton production into some other crop. The excessive labor requirements of the cotton crop, and the necessity for growing a feed crop in addition, prevent any such monopoly of the fertile lands. The average cotton farmer, aided by his family - and that is generally all the help available to him - can take care of no more than 15 acres of cotton. He might be able to plant and cultivate more, but any additional plantings would probably rot in the field - he would not have enough labor to pick the crop. But tho 15 acres of cotton is the limit for the average family, there is little difficulty in the making of an additional 15 acres of corn. This is because the labor demands of the two crops do not seriously conflict. For corn may be planted and harvested earlier than cotton, and the cultivation must go on simultaneously, in ordinary years<sup>2</sup> the labor of the family is able to care for both. A given force of labor is able, then, to grow, in addition to the maximum acreage of cotton which it is capable of handling, an equal acreage of corn. And it is almost imperative that this corn be raised.<sup>3</sup> Grain and forage for the work stock must be largely grown on the farm:

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>2</sup>In a wet year, however, there may not be enough labor to properly cultivate both, and often the corn is neglected.

<sup>3</sup>The South plants a slightly larger acreage of corn than of cotton.





transportation charges make the buying of these from the North and West of the United States unprofitable. Average prices of grain and forage on the Northern and Southern markets are not available, but quotations from the Chicago and New Orleans exchanges, taken at random, give a basis for comparison. In January, 1910, corn was quoted in Chicago at 65 cents per bushel; in New Orleans at 75 cents. In the same month, prairie hay was quoted in Chicago at \$15.00 per ton, in New Orleans at \$23.50.<sup>1</sup> It is evident, then, that the cotton farmer cannot afford to buy much of his feed, especially his roughage. He must raise it, and even if the farmer in the bottoms were able to plant a larger acreage of cotton with the labor which is available, or even if more labor were to be had, he would have to plant a considerable area to corn, in order to supply himself with grain and roughage for his mules.

It is not difficult to see, then, why cotton acreage is concentrated in, but does not monopolize, the richest lands of the state. It remains to be explained why there should have been, during the 30-year period 1880-1910, the tendency toward an increasing concentration which has been noted.

It is a very pretty theory - and one which has often been invoked - that the increase in the proportion of lands devoted to cotton may be ascribed to the advent of the railroads. The cheapening of freight carriage thus brought about led, it is said to specialization. "With the coming of the railroads, marking an era of cheaper and better transportation facilities, and making an exchange of products between different sections possible, the farmers outside of the usual limits ceased to cultivate cotton, and devoted their lands to such crops as would insure more profitable returns."<sup>2</sup> And Trentholm, discussing

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<sup>1</sup>New Orleans prices are taken from 28th annual report of N.O. Board of Trade, 94; Chicago prices from The Breeder's Gazette. The greater difference between hay prices is due to greater bulkiness.

<sup>2</sup>Twelfth Census, VI, Cotton, 406.





the effects of the railroad on the agriculture of South Carolina, says that "provisions were made so cheap that farmers neglected production of food at home,"<sup>1</sup> in order that more land might be planted to cotton.

However true it was of the Cotton Belt as a whole, or of particular sections of it, that the coming of the railroads led to increased concentration of the cotton acreage, such does not seem to have been the case in Arkansas at any rate after 1880. In 1880 the state was very poorly supplied with railroads. There were only two main lines, one running thru the middle of the state from east to west, the other traversing the state diagonally from the northeast to the southwest corner. By 1887 little further progress had been made (see Map I). The great period of expansion was the following seven years. By 1894 the southern and eastern parts of the state were covered with a net work of roads which extended into every county. If cotton production was affected by transportation we should find the changes recorded in the crop reports of the census of 1890. As was observed, however, the tendency toward the concentration of the cotton crop on the more favorable lands was hardly discernable during the decade 1880-1890. The tendency became much more pronounced during the 20 years following. Moreover, of the counties which, between 1880 and 1910, increased their proportionate cotton acreage, in only four was the increase as much or more than 10 per cent; that is, in only four counties was the increase sufficient to justify us in saying that the type of farming had been changed from that of a comparatively self-sufficing to a comparatively specialized agriculture. And of these four every one was well supplied in 1880 with both railway and water transportation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Trentholm, Transportation in South Carolina, 117.

<sup>2</sup>The comparative proximity of the bottom lands of Arkansas to the Corn Belt, so far as river transportation is concerned, may account for the apparently negligible part played by the railroads in changing type of farming. For by river, corn and hogs have always been comparatively accessible.



Table 5. Counties in Which the Single Crop System was much  
Prevalent in 1910 than in 1880.

| County      | : Per cent of Tilled Acreage<br>: in Cotton |        |
|-------------|---|--------|
|             | : 1880                                      | : 1910 |
| St. Francis | : 33.5                                      | : 52.7 |
| Monroe      | : 43.7                                      | : 57.6 |
| Pope        | : 23.8                                      | : 32.1 |
| Conway      | : 29.7                                      | : 39.1 |

Other reasons, then, must be found to account for the tendency toward an increasing concentration of the cotton crop on the most favorable lands.

As has been observed, this tendency, tho marked, has been comparatively slight, so slight that in but few cases has type of farming been radically changed. In view of this fact, it seems probable that it may be regarded as largely the result of a readjustment of cotton acreage following a period of very rapid expansion. The high price of cotton following the civil war, and continuing - tho constantly falling - until 1890, resulted in a mania for cotton planting. Lands ill-suited to the crop from the standpoint of fertility, topography, and climate, were put in cotton. The rapid rate at which new country was being opened up and new land brought under the plow served to make matters worse. Farmers failed to foresee the effect on prices of the cultivation of these new lands, and planted a larger and larger proportion of their land in cotton.

As a result, after 1890 the price of cotton fell rapidly. Tho cotton acreage continued to increase the proportion of all lands which were planted in cotton was greatly decreased. Some of the poor lands which had under the stimulus of high prices been heavily planted to cotton were now







forced below the margin of cultivation for the crop. This was probably due not so much to the natural infertility of the soil - tho it was always very poor - as to the wearing out of the thin lands by the continual cropping to cotton. The crop reporters for the Tenth Census state that seven years of cultivation often reduce cotton yields as much as one-half.<sup>1</sup> Since this is the case it is easy to see why seven of the 10 infertile counties which were, in 1880, heavily planted, should have so greatly reduced the proportion of their cotton acreage by 1910.

Table 6. Upland Counties Which have Reduced the Proportion  
of Cotton Acreage to Total Improved Acreage by  
Ten Per Cent, 1880-1910<sup>2</sup>

| County    | : Per cent of Improved Acreage in Cotton |        |        |        |
|-----------|--|--------|--------|--------|
|           | : 1880                                   | : 1890 | : 1900 | : 1910 |
| Union     | : 43.3                                   | : 37.8 | : 31.4 | : 23.6 |
| Drew      | : 40.7                                   | : 42.3 | : 26.  | : 31.6 |
| Dallas    | : 40.3                                   | : 34.4 | : 21.5 | : 20.8 |
| Calhoun   | : 40.1                                   | : 37.3 | : 20.8 | : 26.7 |
| Ouichata  | : 36.3                                   | : 38.8 | : 26.6 | : 26.2 |
| Cleveland | : 36.2                                   | : 40.5 | : 26.6 | : 28.1 |
| Clark     | : 37.2                                   | : 33.6 | : 25.  | : 20.8 |
| Sevier    | : 28.6                                   | : 31.7 | : 22.5 | : 18.4 |
| Pike      | : 27.6                                   | : 22.3 | : 21.9 | : 15.9 |
| Marion    | : 24.8                                   | : 16.0 | : 10.9 | : 10.5 |

The acreage which was thus thrown out of cultivation on account of the depletion of the soil seems to have been partially replaced by an increase in proportionate cotton acreage in the bottom counties. While the upland farmers were

<sup>1</sup>Tenth Census, V, Agricultural Description of the Counties of Arkansas, 585.

<sup>2</sup>In all but Sevier, Pike, and Marion, the boll weevil may account for a part of the decrease since 1900.



planting less and less of their total acreage to cotton, the bottom land farmers were as a rule planting more and more. This the bottom farmers were able to do without any danger of soil exhaustion. For the alluvial lands are very rich, so rich that cotton can be planted in the same fields year in and year out with little loss of fertility. In fact, better cotton yields are secured on the old lands than on the new, for the new lands are so rich that the cotton plant is likely to make more vegetative growth than is consistent with high production of fibre.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize: a long growing season, reasonably level lands, and a fertile soil are necessary for the highest yields of cotton. Because cotton is the most profitable crop which can be grown on such lands, as great a proportion of cotton will be raised on them as the available labor supply and the feed requirements of the farmer will permit. The cotton planting frenzy which was the result of the high prices of the 25 years following the Civil War, coupled with a rapidly expanding acreage of tilled land, led to serious maladjustment as regards the location of the cotton acreage. Cotton was planted in districts in which neither the land, the topography, or the climate were favorable to the production of the crop. A sharp and continuous drop in the price of cotton after 1890, accompanied by a slowing down of the rate of land clearing, led, in this and the following decade to a readjustment of the location of the cotton acreage. Farmers on the infertile lands and those in sections in which topography and climate were unfavorable were forced to decrease their acreage, especially where a long period of single cropping had resulted in a great

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<sup>1</sup>Tenth Census, V, 585, et seq.





reduction in yields, and this decrease was accompanied by an increase in the cotton plantings of farmers on the bottom lands, where single cropping, no matter how rigorously practiced can impair but slightly the natural fertility of the soil. Thus has been intensified that marked concentration of the cotton acreage, so apparent in 1880, on the lands most favorable to the production of the staple.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cotton yields, however, show a slight decline from 1880 to 1910. Average yields per acre by 5-year periods (1880-1915) are as follows: (See Appendix)

|           |                        |
|-----------|------------------------|
| 1881-1885 | - .44 (bales per acre) |
| 1886-1890 | - .45                  |
| 1891-1895 | - .48                  |
| 1896-1900 | - .47                  |
| 1901-1905 | - .41                  |
| 1906-1910 | - .38                  |
| 1910-1915 | - .39                  |

This decline may seem to run counter to the conclusion just stated. But it is only fair that it be attributed to the impoverishing effects of single cropping on the soil - especially of the uplands (as discussed above), to a forced resort to the poorer grades of the alluvial lands, and, since 1905, to the invasion of the boll weevil.





## Chapter III.

## THE NEGRO AND COTTON PRODUCTION

The negro in America has always been closely associated with the growing of cotton. Brought into the South for that very purpose, and set at it willy nilly, the African, even after he had become his own master, stuck very closely to the job. Nor have his descendants forsaken his ways. In 1910 89 per cent of all negroes were living in the South,<sup>1</sup> and 55 per cent of them over 10 years of age were engaged in agriculture.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, of all the farmers of the South, 40 per cent are negroes.<sup>3</sup> As the South's foremost crop is cotton, it follows that a very large proportion of the race is engaged in cotton farming, and furthermore that a very large proportion of the cotton crop is raised by the black man.

But statistics for the South as a whole give a very inadequate idea of the degree of the association of cotton production with the negro race. For in many sections little cotton is grown and negroes are few. That is, the South is so lacking in uniformity as regards type of farming and color of farmer that statistics based on it as a unit show a much lower degree of correlation between these two factors than actually exists.

A much more uniform unit is the county, for here color of farmer and type of farming are likely to be fairly uniform. If we group the counties of Arkansas according to the percentage of improved land which is in cotton - as we did before - that is, according to type of farming, there will be found a

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<sup>1</sup>Thirteenth Census, Abstract, 81.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., IV, 66, 67, 302.

<sup>3</sup>Negroes, however, farm only 12 per cent of the improved farm lands of the South, (and own only 4 per cent), Thirteenth Censys, V, 186.



Table 7. Relation of the Negro to Type of Farming.

| Group     | Per cent of all Farmers<br>who are Negroes |      | Increase in Percentage<br>1900-1910 |      |
|-----------|--|------|-------------------------------------|------|
|           | 1900                                       | 1910 |                                     |      |
| I         | 2.7  | .5   |                                     | -2.2 |
| II        | 2.9  | 6.7  |                                     | 3.8  |
| III       | 16.7                                       | 21.4 |                                     | 4.7  |
| IV        | 32.4                                       | 39.6 |                                     | 7.2  |
| V         | 59.4                                       | 63.6 |                                     | 4.2  |
| VI        | 81.1                                       | 81.8 |                                     | .7   |
| The State | 26.3                                       | 29.4 |                                     | 3.1  |

very close correspondence in the various groups between the percentage of all tilled land which was planted in cotton, and the percentage of all farmers who were negroes. Where cotton occupied less than 10 per cent of the improved acreage in 1910, only 2.7 per cent of all the farmers were negroes. Where cotton occupied over 50 per cent of improved acreage, 81.1 per cent of all farmers were negroes. Comparison of the intermediate groups shows that in each of them, likewise, the percentage of all farmers who are negroes varies directly with the percentage of all land which is planted to cotton.

Statistics for 1910 show that, in general the same situation prevails. The negroes are still concentrated in the single cropping areas, the whites in the diversified regions. However, in each of the six groups, save Group I, the percentage of negro farmers has increased<sup>1</sup>. But this increase has not been appreciably greater where cotton is the main crop than where farming is more diversified; so that it cannot be said that type of farming is responsible for the increase in the proportion of negro farmers, or vice versa.

While it may be said, if the state is taken as a whole, that percentage of negro farmers varies directly with the type of farming carried on,

<sup>1</sup>This does not imply a decrease in the number of white farmers, but merely a more rapid increase of blacks than of whites. For the state these increases were: negroes, 26 per cent, whites, 17 per cent.





there are many exceptions to be noted. In 1910 among the counties of Group V, in which between 40 and 50 per cent of the tilled acreage is in cotton, and in which the percentage of negroes is 63.6, there is one county, Jackson, which has an exceptionally low percentage of negroes (21.8). In Group IV, in which negroes comprise 39 per cent of all farmers, there are three counties - Yell, Pope, and Perry, in which there are very few negro farmers, only 4.6, 6.0, and 10.8 per cent respectively. Among the 25 counties in Group III, which has an average of 21.4 per cent of negro farmers, there is considerable variation in both directions. Three counties - Lafayette, Little River, and Ouichata, have over 40 per cent of negro farmers, while eight counties<sup>1</sup> have less than five per cent. Neither groups I or II present any marked variation, however, except Arkansas county, which, altho in Group I has 30% of negro farmers.

Evidently, then, in 1910 the negro farmer was not invariably a cotton farmer, nor was cotton invariably produced by the negro, tho such cases are the exceptions, rather than the rule. A closer study of the 16 counties which constitute the exceptions reveals certain factors which apparently determine the race of farmers who are to make the cotton crop.

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<sup>1</sup>White, Sebastian, Scott, Logan, Lawrence, Johnson, Independence, and Clay.



Table 8. Counties in Which Type of Farming and Color of  
Farmer are not Correlated.

A. Counties in Which Cotton Acreage is Large as Compared with the  
number of Negro Farmers.

| County       | : Location with ref-<br>: erence to Isother-<br>: mic line of 61° | :<br>:<br>: | : Upland or Bottom:<br>:<br>: | : Per cent of in-:<br>: habitants who<br>: were slaves in<br>: 1860 | : Per cent of<br>: farmers who<br>: are negroes<br>: 1910 |
|--------------|---|-------------|-------------------------------|---|---|
| Jackson      | : North   | : Bottom    | : 24.                         | : 21.8  |   |
| Yell         | : Cut by line   | : Upland    | : 15.                         | : 4.6   |   |
| Pope         | : North   | : Upland    | : 12.                         | : 6.0   |   |
| Perry        | : Cut by line   | : Upland    | : 12.                         | : 10.8  |   |
| Clay         | : North   | : Bottom    | : *                           | : 0.  |   |
| White        | : Cut by line   | : Upland    | : 17.                         | : 3.9   |   |
| Sebastian    | : North   | : Upland    | : 7.                          | : 3.2   |   |
| Scott        | : Cut by line   | : Upland    | : 4.                          | : 0.  |   |
| Logan        | : Cut by line   | : Upland    | : *                           | : 1.8   |   |
| Lawrence     | : North   | : Bottom    | : 5.                          | : 2.7   |   |
| Johnson      | : North   | : Upland    | : 12.                         | : 1.1   |   |
| Independence | : North   | : Upland    | : 9.                          | : 2.2   |   |
|              | :   | :           | :                             | :   |   |

B. Counties in Which Cotton Acreage is Small as Compared with the  
Number of Negro Farmers.

|              |         |          |       |        |
|--------------|---------|----------|-------|--------|
| Lafayette    | : South | : Bottom | : 48. | : 44.  |
| Little River | : South | : Bottom | : *   | : 48.6 |
| Ouichata     | : South | : Upland | : 35. | : 56.3 |
| Arkansas     | : South | : Bottom | : 44. | : 30.8 |

One of these factors is climate. The black man's love of the sun is proverbial. Bred for generations in the tropics, the African ancestors of the American Negro have transmitted to him a characteristic which is very persistent. Set off against this preference of the negro for a hot climate is the almost

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<sup>1</sup>County not yet created.





equally decided preference of the white man for a more temperate one. It is not surprising to find, then, that of those counties which have a percentage of negroes relatively small as compared with the amount of cotton planted, every one lies north of, or is cut by, the isothermic line of 61 degrees, while of those counties in which the percentage of negro farmers is large when compared with the cotton acreage, all lie to the south of this line. Moreover, of all counties lying north of or cut by this line only two have large percentages of negro farmers, namely, Woodruff, (67.2 per cent) and Conway (38.1 per cent), while of the 36 counties lying south of this line, only eight have a relatively small number of negro farmers (less than 25 per cent of all farmers).

This fairly distinct division of race according to climate, would seem to indicate a pretty strong analogy to the case of Jack Sprat and his wife, in which both parties have located themselves according to their tastes,<sup>1</sup> But the existence of exceptions, tho relatively unimportant from the standpoint of numbers, indicates that there must be still other factors which have a bearing on the distribution of the colored and the white farmers.

It has often been said that the negro is not troubled as much with malaria as is his white neighbor. Malaria is a disease peculiar to low lying countries. Where there is the most stagnant water, there are the most mosquitoes, and there the most malaria.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the bottom country is preeminently the malarial country. If it is true that the negro can combat

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<sup>1</sup>This is undoubtedly largely a matter of taste: for tho the Northerner invariably "slows down" after he has been in the South for a few years, yet as experience attests, he will do more work, day for day, than will the negro, and there are numberless cases in which negroes have prospered in northern climates.

<sup>2</sup>It is a well established fact that malaria can only be contracted thru the bite of a certain species of mosquito - the anapholes.



malaria better than the white man, we should expect to find the negroes monopolizing the bottom lands, while the whites are forced to remain, for the sake of safety, on the uplands. In general, this is the case, as is shown by the second column of Table 8. But there are two bottom counties in which there are practically no negro farmers, and one in which the percentage is relatively small, and on the other hand, one upland county in which the percentage of negroes is relatively large.

Admitting that considerations of healthfulness probably exerted a considerable influence in determining the distribution of the races, it should be questioned whether this is due to any inherent superiority of the negro in withstanding malaria.<sup>1</sup> For the negro is far from immune, as will be attested by any one who has watched him make for the big plantation boiler with eyes rolling and teeth a chatter. It seems more likely that the white farmer has shunned the bottoms - not because he was less able - but because he was less willing to endure the discomforts and dangers of a malarial country. The negro is by nature happy-go-lucky, accepting conditions as he finds them, and being slow to attempt to better his lot, especially if the attempt requires any exertion on his part. If he were set down in an unhealthy country, then, the chances are that he would stay there, long after his white neighbor had moved to a more congenial land.

This brings up the next point, namely, the influence of original settlement in determining the race of succeeding inhabitants. Comparison of the last two columns of Table 8, showing for 16 counties percentage of inhabitants who were slaves in 1860, and percentage of farmers who were negroes in

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<sup>1</sup>For the opposite view see Hammond, The Cotton Industry, 182.





1910, reveals only one county which has either increased or decreased its proportion of colored population to the extent of 15 per cent.<sup>1</sup> In all the others, the proportion of the negro and white has changed but little during the half century. Moreover, of the 13 counties of Arkansas which had in 1860 a slave population of over 40 per cent of total population, only 3 have, by 1910, fallen below this percentage as regards relative numbers of negro and white farmers,<sup>2</sup> and of the 20 counties with less than 10 per cent of slaves in 1860, not one had more than 15 per cent of negro farmers in 1910. But tho it may be said that the presence or absence of the negro has apparently determined his presence or absence in 1910, there have nevertheless, within the limits just stated, been considerable changes in the proportions of the two races. For example, the slave populations of Crittenden and Desha counties were only 47 and 58 per cent, respectively, of total population, while in 1910 the percentage of negro farmers was 93 and 89 per cent, respectively, of all farmers. Our conclusion must be that tho there has been a considerable degree of mobility of the races, there have been no radical changes: where negroes were few in the days of slavery, there they remained few thruout the succeeding 50 years, where they were numerous, there they remained numerous.

The fact that the negro was, in the very beginning, deposited in those sections in which climate was most congenial to him, most distasteful to the whites, and in which considerations of health discouraged white settlement, undoubtedly accounts in large measure for this stability. But there is another very important reason: negroes like the company of their own race, and

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<sup>1</sup>Ouichata (increase, 21.6 per cent), The slave population of 1860 was largely agricultural, hence the comparison is a valid one.

<sup>2</sup>Arkansas county, 30.8 per cent, Dallas, 28.6, Union, 37.



whites dislike the presence of the negro.

One of the strongest of the characteristics of the black man is that of sociability. He must be where he has the opportunity to mingle with other folk, work with them, sing with them in the fields, visit with them on the regular Saturday afternoon half-holiday, and go to meeting with them on Sunday; else he is not happy. Since the <sup>negroes</sup> cannot associate with the whites on this basis of equality, it is but natural that they tend to flock together.<sup>1</sup> The white man, on his part, much prefers that they should. Particularly is this true of the white farmer. Neighbors in the country are few and far away at best, and in a community in which there is a large percentage of negro farmers, the white man and his family are sure to have a pretty lonely time of it. Then, too, in such a community the number of white families living within a given radius is likely to be too small to adequately support a good school or church; and few white men care to raise a family in such an unfavorable environment. Moreover, race prejudice must be reckoned with:<sup>2</sup> there are not a few communities in Arkansas whose boast it is that "the sun never sets on a nigger in -----".

Such considerations have united to prevent any great exodus of the negro from those sections into which he was thrust as a slave, and on the other hand, to prevent any great invasion of the negroes' domain by the white farmer.

But the great importance must be attached to climate, healthfulness, and race of the original inhabitants as determiners of the present location of the negro farmer, the importance of cotton production in this respect must not be minimized. That there is a very close relation between the negro farmer and -----

<sup>1</sup>Compare Karl Kelsey, *The Negro Farmer*, p. 21. He has shown that thruout the South there has been a tendency toward segregation of whites and blacks.

<sup>2</sup>See also Kelsey, *op. cit.*, 16.





type of farming is conclusively shown by the accompanying table. Between 1900 and 1910 there were sixteen counties which have either increased or decreased the proportion of their cotton acreage by as much as 7.5 per cent; that is, farming has changed from a more specialized to a more diversified type, or vice versa. If there is an intimate relation between cotton production and the negro - if they are to any extent cause and effect - we should expect to find that as type of farming changes so does the proportion of negro farmers.



Table 9. Counties in which percentage of cotton acreage of  
total tilled acreage increased or decreased 7.5  
per cent or more; and increase or decrease  
in percentage of negro farmers, 1900-1910

| County       | : Percentage of increase or decrease,<br>: 1900-1910 in |                                  |
|--------------|---|----------------------------------|
|              | : proportionate<br>: cotton acreage                     | : per cent of negro<br>: farmers |
| Lawrence     | : +12.  | : +26.                           |
| Poinsett     | : +10.  | : + 4.8                          |
| Cross        | : +11.4   | : +7.                            |
| Pope         | : + 8.2   | : - 1.                           |
| Jackson      | : +13.7   | : - 5.2                          |
| Pulaski      | : + 7.7   | : + 3.2                          |
| Mississippi  | : + 7.7   | : + 8.                           |
| Monroe       | : +11.  | : + 3.                           |
| St. Francis  | : +11.2   | : + 4.6                          |
| Crittenden   | : + 8.9   | : + 5.9                          |
| Phillips     | : + 8.3   | : + 8.                           |
| Desha        | : - 9.2   | : -33.7                          |
| Lafayette    | : -15.4   | : - 7.                           |
| Union        | : - 7.8   | : - 0.4                          |
| Miller       | : - 7.9   | : -14.6                          |
| Little River | : -11.9   | : + 4.6                          |
|              | :   | :                                |

Of the 11 counties which had, during the decade increased their proportionate cotton acreage 7.5 per cent or more, all save two show, for the same period, an increase in the proportion of negro farmers, while of the five which have decreased proportionate cotton acreage, all save one have at the same time decreased in proportion of negroes.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Aside from the counties listed in Table 9, only one county increased its percentage of negro farmers by as much as 10 per cent, and this county (Franklin, 1.5 per cent) showed an increase of 4.5 per cent in acreage planted to cotton.





The fact that changes in type of farming have, in 13 cases out of 16, been accompanied by a change in race of the farmer shows conclusively that cotton production and the negro race are bound together by very strong ties.

One of these is the familiarity of the negro with the cotton crop. Accustomed as a slave to the raising of cotton, and nothing else, the freedman became a cotton farmer as a matter of course. Likewise to plant cotton was second nature to the freedman's son: for he had worked in the cotton fields ever since he was old enough to walk - and knew cotton as he knew no other crop.

Not only is the negro more familiar with cotton than with any other crop - he has a marked preference for it. This is because he <sup>is</sup> by nature lazy,<sup>1</sup> and cotton permits him to give freer rein to this proclivity than do the other staples. For unlike most other staples cotton has no definite length of growing period, so that, provided the season is sufficiently long, it may receive a severe set back by reason of the temporary neglect of the farmer, and yet recover and make a good crop. "It is, indeed, a commonplace in the South that the negro can only grow cotton - that he cannot grow corn. Corn will not bear neglect; to fail to plow at the proper time means loss of the crop. The cotton must be worked much more, it bears the delays incident to negro methods much better."<sup>2</sup> A fishing excursion in June, or participation in an all day camp meeting need not result so disastrously in the case of cotton, as it might with other crops. Then, too, the cotton crop affords steady work for from not more than five to seven months in the year. During the remainder of the time the single cropper may loaf. Under a more diversified system there would be work thruout the year, and this is what the negro wishes to avoid.

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<sup>1</sup>At any rate, this is the concensus of opinion of those who know him best.

<sup>2</sup>Van de Graaff, An Unaided Solution of the Race Question, Forum, XXI, 340.



But tho the negro farmer raises cotton both because he likes it and because he is familiar with it, the farm credit system of the South has undoubtedly left him little room for choice. After returning from the Civil War, few southern farmers had enough working capital to make their first crop; nor did they have private property on which to obtain credit. To meet this contingency, crop lien laws<sup>were</sup> passed in all southern states, which permitted farmers to give mortgage on their growing crops as security for advances of cash and supplies. Since crops form the basis of security, the creditor merchant exercises a right to say what these crops shall be; and as cotton has always been the crop which is least likely to fail completely, and for which there is the readiest market, cotton is the crop which is almost invariably stipulated.<sup>1</sup> And there is another reason why the merchant demands a cotton crop. "The two articles of merchandise in which the advancing merchant of the South principally deals, and on which credit is most frequently given, are corn and bacon. Both of these commodities can be easily and cheaply produced at home, and it is certainly to the interest of the farmer to produce them, for they form the chief items of the food supply of the agricultural classes of the South. But it has been the policy of merchants to discourage their production. The raising of corn would not only give a less marketable crop into the hands of the merchant, but it would eventually lose him his customers, for the raising of his own supplies would release the farmer from the necessity of doing business on a credit basis."<sup>2</sup>

It is the exceptional negro farmer who is not forced to go in debt every year in order to pay for food and running expenses with which to make

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<sup>1</sup>Hammond, op.cit., 150.

<sup>2</sup>Hammond, op. cit., 151.





his crop. This is because he makes but little money, and spends what he makes with no thought for the future. And because the negro is seldom a land owner,<sup>1</sup> and because his personal property is scanty - the average black farmer thinks himself well off if he owns a bed, a couple of chairs, a cook stove, a wagon and a mule - he has no acceptable security to offer except a crop lien. And thus it comes about that most negroes are virtually forced to be single croppers, whether they will or no.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, cotton is preeminently the crop of the poor man. For of all staples cotton requires the least outlay for machinery and buildings. It is natural, therefore, that the negro should turn to it.

But tho the negro is bound to the cotton crop by ties of affection, of habit, and of financial necessity, a still stronger bond is his natural adaptation to the requirements of the crop. As has been said, an abundant supply of labor is the sine qua non of successful cotton farming, and labor is the one commodity with which the negro is lavishly endowed. For in addition to his own he is able, yes, eager to add that of his wife, and his large brood of children.

Adult male labor will have to become much more plentiful in the South before the family system of cotton raising can be even partially discarded. Cotton picking, which is responsible for the greater part of the labor demands, is a slow and tedious process. Unlike the harvesting or thrashing of grain it cannot be accomplished by machinery.<sup>3</sup> So long as these conditions prevail

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<sup>1</sup>See infra, Chap. IV.

<sup>2</sup>Hammond lays the blame of overproduction of cotton and low prices during the decade 1890-1900, on the crop lien system. For a full description of the workings of the system, and its attendant evils see Hammond, op.cit., Chap. V.

<sup>3</sup>Several cotton picking machines have been invented, but none are efficient enough to be put in general use. The difficulty is that the bolls on a stalk of cotton do not ripen simultaneously, so that they cannot all be harvested at one time, as can the other staples. The picker must use judgment as to which to pick.



the cotton crop must be made by farmers who are willing for their wives and children to go into the fields.

Such farmers are the negroes, the poor whites, and foreigners. Save in Texas, where foreigners have gained a considerable hold, the raising of the cotton crop has fallen entirely to the lot of the negroes and the poor whites, and as it is probable that the poor whites are gradually raising their standards, so that an increasingly larger number of them will be unwilling to put their wives and daughters at field labor, it may be expected that a larger and larger proportion of the cotton acreage will fall to the lot of the negro.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up: the negro plays a great part in the cotton farming of Arkansas, and for good reasons. (1) Cotton is produced most profitably in those regions in which climate is most congenial to the negro and disagreeable to the whites, in which considerations of healthfulness have tended to discourage white settlement, and which were originally occupied for the most part by slaves. (2) The negro farmer plants cotton both because of his training and because of his tastes. (3) The crop lien system of the south virtually compels him to raise it. (4) He forms the largest class of farmers who are able and willing to satisfy the exacting labor demands of the crop.

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<sup>1</sup>Stone describes an experiment conducted on a plantation in Chicot County, Ark., in which Italian immigrants produced yields per hand 73 per cent greater than those of negroes on adjacent farms.- Studies in the American Race Problem, Chap. IV. But notwithstanding this apparent superiority, it would be hazardous to predict that the foreigner will become increasingly important in the production of cotton.





## Chapter IV.

## COTTON PRODUCTION AND TENANCY

Thirty seven per cent of the farmers of the United States are tenants; forty nine and six tenths per cent of the farmers of the South are tenants.<sup>1</sup> The inference is that cotton production is more closely associated with tenancy than are other types of farming. These figures, however, give a very inadequate notion of the degree of this association, for much of the South plants no cotton whatever, and a still larger portion plants but lightly. Figures for the various states serve little better, for in each similar conditions prevail. But if counties are grouped according to percentage of total acreage in cotton, and the percentage of tenancy calculated for each group the degree of association of the two is fairly accurately ascertained.

Table 10. Per cent Tenancy, by Groups (1910).

| :         |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|
| Group     | : | Per cent of all farmers who are tenants |
| :         |   |   |
| I         | : | 26.2                                    |
| II        | : | 36.4                                    |
| III       | : | 41.6                                    |
| IV        | : | 53.                                     |
| V         | : | 68.3                                    |
| VI        | : | 81.4                                    |
| The State | : | 50.                                     |
| :         |   |   |

In Groups I and II, which plant less than 20 per cent of their improved acreage to cotton, and so may be regarded as practicing a diversified system of farming, the percentage of tenancy is less than the average for the United States. In Groups III and IV, which plant between 20 and 40

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<sup>1</sup>13th Census, Vol. V, 105, 131.



per cent of their acreage, and may therefore be regarded as somewhat diversified counties, tenancy is much more prevalent. And in Groups V and VI, which plant over 40 per cent of their area, and which are therefore the one-crop groups, the percentage of tenancy has risen to 68.3 and 81.4, respectively. There is then, a rapid and fairly constant increase in tenancy as cotton plays an increasingly important part in the cropping system; so that in those counties in which cotton occupies over one half of the improved acreage, four fifths of all farmers are tenants.

But if we extend our analysis still further, and examine the counties of the state singly instead of by groups, we find a number of cases in which single cropping is not accompanied by a relatively large percentage of tenancy, nor diversification by a small percentage. Below are listed 13 counties in which tenure is at striking variance from what we should expect, knowing the type of farming characteristic of each. In these counties the percentage of tenancy varies as much as 15 per cent in either direction from the average percentage of tenancy of the group to which each belongs.





Table 11. Counties in which Type of Farming and Kind  
of Tenure do not Correspond (1910).

| County       | :Variation from:<br>% tenancy for<br>: group | :Variation from:<br>% negroes of<br>:all farmers<br>:for group | :Variation from<br>:value per A.<br>:for group |
|--------------|--|--|--|
| Class I      | : 26.2*                                      | : 2.7*   | : \$14.40*                                     |
| Arkansas     | : +20.4                                      | : -1.3   | : +13.35                                       |
| Class II     | : 36.4*                                      | : 2.5*   | : 9.70*  |
| Craighead    | : +21.5                                      | : -1.3   | : +14.93                                       |
| Class III    | : 41.6*                                      | : 16.7*  | : 11.20*                                       |
| Bradley      | : -19.8                                      | : +3.7   | : -3.82  |
| Calhoun      | : -19.1                                      | : +7.9   | : -5.24  |
| Dallas       | : -16.1                                      | : +3.5   | : -4.94  |
| Grant        | : -20.9                                      | : -14.9  | : -4.35  |
| Lawrence     | : +17.3                                      | : -21.4  | : +7.38  |
| Little River | : +16.7                                      | : +23.5  | : + .23  |
| Poinsett     | : +21.                                       | : -9.3   | : +12.50                                       |
| Class IV     | : 53.*                                       | : 32.4*  | : 12.80*                                       |
| Columbia     | : -15.9                                      | : +1.  | : -4.33  |
| Cross        | : +18.3                                      | : +11.6  | : +4.40  |
| Lonoke       | : +15.4                                      | : +6.  | : +10.29                                       |
| Class V      | : 68.3*                                      | : 59.4*  | : 20.40*                                       |
| Desha        | : +15.9                                      | : +14.8  | : + .36  |

\*Averages for the class.

The high percentages of tenancy in the very lightly planted counties Arkansas and Craighead, for example, call for explanation, as do the low percentages of tenancy in the relatively heavily planted counties of Columbia, Bradley, Calhoun, Dallas, and Grant. Then, too, it must be explained why the remainder of the counties listed vary so widely, as regards proportion of tenancy, from those counties in which a similar type of farming is carried on. Evidently type of farming, tho corresponding, on the whole, very closely to tenure of farmer, is by no means a complete index to it. It is certain that there are other determining factors.



The cue to the identity of these factors is furnished by a comparison of the land values and of the percentage of all farmers who are negroes of these counties with the average value and percentage of the group to which each belongs. Of the eight counties listed in Table 11 as having a percentage of tenancy much higher than those counties in which a similar type of farming prevails, four of them have land values much greater than the average value for their group,<sup>1</sup> one of them has a relatively large number of negro farmers,<sup>2</sup> and three have both relatively high land values and relatively high percentages of negroes;<sup>3</sup> while of the five counties which have low percentages of tenancy when type of farming is considered, all of them have relatively low land values, while one has both low land values and a relatively high percentage of negroes. It seems probable, then, that there exists some relationship between value of land and color of farmer, on the one hand, and form of land tenure on the other, and we shall investigate this relationship more closely.

Of the white farmers of Arkansas 38.6 per cent were, in 1910, tenants. Of the negro farmers of the state 76.9 per cent were tenants. The percentage of tenancy among whites is, then, little higher than the average for the United States, while almost four-fifths of the blacks rent their land. It has been shown, however, that the negroes are concentrated upon the richest, and hence highest priced land of the state, and it might be expected that this fact would account for the higher percentage of tenancy. A comparison of the prevalence of tenancy among black and white farmers of the same groups should show fairly accurately how much of this tenancy among negroes is due to the value of the land which they occupy, and how much should be attributed to his

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<sup>1</sup>Arkansas, Craighead, Lawrence, and Poinsett.

<sup>2</sup>Little River.

<sup>3</sup>Cross, Lonoke, and Desha.





color, for, as has been shown, the groups represent fairly uniform areas as regards fertility, and hence, roughly speaking, as regards value of land.

Table 12 shows that in each of these groups<sup>1</sup> the percentage of negroes who are tenants is much greater than the percentage of whites who are tenants.

Table 12. Per cent of White Farmers and Negro Farmers  
who are Tenants by Groups, 1900 and 1910.

| Group     | Per cent of all Negroes |      | Per cent of all Whites |      |
|-----------|-------------------------|------|------------------------|------|
|           | who are Tenants         |      | who are Tenants        |      |
|           | 1900                    | 1910 | 1900                   | 1910 |
| I         | 3.                      | 64.7 | 24.                    | 25.2 |
| II        | 37.3                    | 48.4 | 35.6                   | 36.0 |
| III       | 64.5                    | 55.5 | 39.5                   | 39.7 |
| IV        | 67.3                    | 70.4 | 35.8                   | 44.7 |
| V         | 80.7                    | 83.5 | 43.5                   | 46.0 |
| VI        | 86.                     | 86.1 | 50.2                   | 61.3 |
| The State | 74.4                    | 76.9 | 35.1                   | 38.6 |

For example, in 1910 in Group II, which represents the less fertile and more diversified counties 36 per cent of all whites, and 48.4 per cent of all negroes were tenants; and in Group VI representing the more fertile counties, in which single cropping is most extensively practiced, 61.3 per cent of the whites and 86.1% of the negroes were tenants. Moreover, in every county of the state (omitting those in which negro farmers are so few as to make comparisons of little value) the percentage of negroes who are tenants exceeds the percentage of whites who are tenants.<sup>2</sup> In the case of most counties this difference is large and in only three is it less than 10 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Except Group I, in which there are so few negroes that the average is valueless. The great increase in percentage of negroes in 1910 is due to the addition of Arkansas county to the group - a county in which there are large numbers of negroes.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix.

<sup>3</sup>Grant and Faulkner, 8 per cent, Franklin, 5 per cent.



It is evident, then, that percentage of tenancy varies directly with the negro - that color of farmer is a determining factor in land tenure, independent of other factors.

In studying the relation between tenure and value of land this fact must be borne in mind.<sup>1</sup>

Table 13. Tenancy and Land Values, 1910.

|            | :Value of Land:<br>: per A. (\$) | :Per cent of:<br>:Farmers who:<br>:are Tenants | :Per cent of:<br>:Farmers who:<br>:are Negroes |
|------------|----------------------------------|--|--|
| U.S.       | 32.40                            | 37.  | 14.5   |
| The South: | 16.72                            | 49.6   | 40.  |
| Illinois : | 95.02                            | 41.4   | .6   |
| Arkansas : | 14.13                            | 50.  | 29.6   |

For the United States as a whole, and for Illinois, for example, where, compared with the South and Arkansas land values are relatively high, percentage of tenancy is relatively low, and this must be ascribed largely to the greater proportion of negro farmers. However, not all of the discrepancy may be thus accounted for, for Table 14 shows that in Arkansas even where negroes are few and land low in price, tenancy is more prevalent than in the United States as a whole.

Table 14. Tenancy, Land Values, and Percentage of Negroes, by Groups, 1910.

| Group | :Per cent of<br>:all farmers<br>:who are tenants | :Average Value:<br>:of Land per<br>:A. (\$) | :Per cent of<br>:all farmers<br>:who are negroes |
|-------|--|---|--|
| I     | 26.2   | 14.40                                       | 2.7  |
| II    | 36.4   | 9.70  | 2.9  |
| III   | 41.6   | 11.20                                       | 16.7   |
| IV    | 53.  | 12.80                                       | 32.4   |
| V     | 68.3   | 20.40                                       | 59.4   |
| VI    | 81.4   | 28.80                                       | 81.1   |

<sup>1</sup>Compare Hibbard, Tenancy in the Southern States, Q.J.E., XXVII, 484.





For example, in Group II, where the proportion of negroes is much lower than for the United States, and land values only about one third as great, the percentage of tenancy is practically the same as for the United States. This is probably to be accounted for by the comparative apathy and lack of thrift of the poor white farmer of the South, for it is almost inconcievable that a farmer of energy and managerial ability, would, with the ridiculously low values prevailing, fail to accumulate enough to buy his farm.

Table 14 is presented primarily, however, to show the closeness of the correlation between land values and form of tenure in Arkansas. With the exception of Group I,<sup>1</sup> tenancy in each group varies directly with the value of the land comprising the group. In Group II, land is worth only \$9.70 per care, and only 36.4 per cent of the farmers are tenants, while in Group VI, land is worth over three times as much per acre, and four fifths of the farmers are tenants; and groups with intermediate land values have intermediate percentages of tenancy.

Moreover, if counties are grouped according to percentage of tenancy, and again according to value of land per acre, the two groupings will correspond with the exception of 15 counties (out of a total of 75).<sup>2</sup> Thus the close association of tenancy and high land values is very apparent.

But <sup>tho</sup><sub>A</sub> the fact is indisputable that single cropping, the negro, and high land values are closely allied to tenancy, and on the other hand, diversification, the white man, and low land values to ownership, the question

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<sup>1</sup>In Group I land value is high in comparison with percentage of tenancy, but this is to be accounted for by the inclusion within the group of several fruit growing counties. Orchardng involves high per acre values, but is at the same time a type of farming unsuited to tenancy.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix. These counties are Benton, Garland, Saline, Washington, Arkansas, Clay, Faulkner, Howard, Marion, Sebastian, Cross, Lincoln, Pulaski.



remains, do these factors stand in a causal relationship to form of land tenure?

In the case of color of farmer, an affirmative answer has already been very clearly indicated. For it has been shown that when the white man and the negro are engaged in the same type of farming and on land of equal value, a much larger percentage of negroes than of whites will be tenants. This is invariably the case - there are no exceptions to be found, and the conclusion is inescapable that the negro is, per se, an index of tenancy.

In the case of type of farming and of value of land, the importance of the relationship is not so clear. It has been shown that cotton production is concentrated on the most fertile and hence most valuable lands. On these lands a much larger percentage of both white and negro farmers are tenants than on the less valuable lands where diversification is practiced.<sup>1</sup> Since this is the case the question is, to what extent has form of tenure been determined by type of farming, to what extent by land values?

There are in all probability so many minor factors which bear on the determination of form of land tenure, that an answer to this question must be, at best, a very rough approximation. However, by comparing counties which have the same land values, but which differ widely in type of farming, we are able to draw a fairly accurate conclusion as to the influence of cotton production on tenure. The color factor must of course be eliminated by recording separately the percentage of tenancy for negroes and for whites.

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<sup>1</sup>See Table 12, *supra*.





Table 15. Counties having Approximately Equal Land Values,  
but Practicing Different Types of Farming, Compared  
as Regards Form of Tenure of White and Colored  
Farmers, 1910.

|  | : Value     | : Per cent of    | : Per cent of     | : Per cent of     |
|--|-------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | : of Land   | : Improved       | : Whites          | : Negroes         |
|  | : (Dollars) | : Area in Cotton | : who are Tenants | : who are Tenants |
| I. A group of counties having low land values.     | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| A. Lightly planted counties.                       | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| Madison :  | 6.69 :      | 0. :             | 25. :             | :                 |
| Polk :   | 7.14 :      | 9.2 :            | 14. :             | 50.               |
| Searcy :   | 6.34 :      | 6.2 :            | 26. :             | 50.               |
| B. Heavily planted counties (in comparison with A) | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| Faulkner :   | 7.81 :      | 32. :            | 42. :             | 60.               |
| Columbia :   | 8.47 :      | 36.7 :           | 26. :             | 53.               |
| Union :  | 6.28 :      | 23.6 :           | 22. :             | 52.               |
| Scott :  | 7.85 :      | 22.2 :           | 37. :             | :                 |
| Quichata :   | 7.04 :      | 26.2 :           | 23. :             | 40.               |
| Nevada :   | 6.87 :      | 24.8 :           | 26. :             | 60.               |
| Howard :   | 8.51 :      | 25.2 :           | 35. :             | 66.               |
| Grant :  | 6.85 :      | 24. :            | 18. :             | 26.               |
| Clark :  | 7.38 :      | 20.8 :           | 34. :             | 45.               |
| Bradley :  | 7.38 :      | 27.3 :           | 19. :             | 30.               |
| II. A group of counties having medium land values. | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| A. Lightly planted counties.                       | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| Randolph :   | 14.05 :     | 18. :            | 45. :             | 57.               |
| Logan :  | 13.88 :     | 27.7 :           | 45. :             | 78.               |
| Little River :                                     | 12.43 :     | 26.7 :           | 42. :             | 76.               |
| Johnson :  | 12.96 :     | 25.6 :           | 46. :             | 74.               |
| Independence :                                     | 12.22 :     | 24.6 :           | 46. :             | 68.               |
| Franklin :   | 12.14 :     | 25.1 :           | 48. :             | 53.               |
| B. Heavily planted counties.                       | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| Lincoln :  | 13.91 :     | 45.3 :           | 37. :             | 83.               |
| Ashley :   | 14.40 :     | 41.4 :           | 27. :             | 83.               |
| III. A group of counties having high land values.  | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| A. Lightly planted counties.                       | :           | :                | :                 | :                 |
| Arkansas :   | 27.75 :     | 8.7 :            | 38. :             | 67.               |
| Benton :   | 28.07 :     | 0. :             | 21.6 :            | :                 |
| Washington :                                       | 21.03 :     | 0. :             | 23.3 :            | :                 |
| Sebastian :  | 27.17 :     | 20.4 :           | 51. :             | 70.               |



Table 15 (Continued)

|                              | : Value<br>: of Land<br>: (Dollars) | : Per cent of<br>: Improved<br>: Area in Cotton | : Per cent of<br>: Whites<br>: who are Tenants | : Per cent of<br>: Negroes<br>: who are Tenants |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Craighead                    | : 24.63                             | : 19.   | : 51.  | : 64.   |
| Clay                         | : 23.84                             | : 21.   | : 51.3   | : 79.   |
| Poinsett                     | : 23.70                             | : 23.7  | : 60.  | : 89.   |
| Prairie                      | : 20.05                             | : 20.6  | : 40.  | : 79.   |
|                              | :                                   | :   | :  | :   |
| B. Heavily planted counties. |                                     |   |  |   |
| Jefferson                    | : 25.08                             | : 57.2  | : 48.  | : 86.   |
| Lee                          | : 22.13                             | : 52.9  | : 48.  | : 79.   |
| Monroe                       | : 21.14                             | : 57.6  | : 62.  | : 84.   |
| Phillips                     | : 27.67                             | : 58.3  | : 40.  | : 85.   |
| St. Francis                  | : 21.97                             | : 52.7  | : 55.  | : 83.   |
| Chicot                       | : 26.14                             | : 53.   | : 64.  | : 87.   |

A study of Table 15 leads to the conclusion that type of farming exerts comparatively little influence in determining form of tenure. In none of the three groups of counties is there discernible much difference between the lightly and heavily planted counties as regards percentage of tenancy, either of white or of negro farmers. The heavily planted counties of the second group have a much higher percentage of negro tenants than have the lightly planted counties of the group, but on the other hand the percentage of whites who are tenants is much higher for the heavily planted than for the lightly planted counties. It is true, however, that Washington and Benton counties, which plant no cotton have a much larger proportion of farm owners than the heavily planted counties which have approximately equal land values, but these are orcharding counties, and as such, as explained above, are not congenial to tenancy. Whatever influence cotton farming has in increasing tenancy, would seem to be, on the whole, very slight.





It may be concluded, then, that the cotton production and tenancy are generally concomitant, there is little in the nature of the crop or in the nature of tenancy, which, apart from other factors, necessarily allies the two. The principal reasons for their almost invariable association are (1) the fact that cotton is raised on the most fertile and hence as a rule the most valuable lands, and (2) the fact that cotton is most often raised by the negro. Either high land values, or a large proportion of negroes would result in a high rate of tenancy; and when both are associated with the production of the cotton crop, the preponderance of tenancy becomes enormous.<sup>1</sup>

It may now be asked whether tenancy is increasing or decreasing, and at what rate? And if increasing, whether the rate is greater in the diversified or in the heavily planted counties, and for negro farmers or for whites?

As for the United States the percentage of tenancy rose from 25.6 in 1880 to 37. in 1910, an increase of 12. During the same 30 years, in Arkansas, the percentage of tenancy rose from 30.9 to 50., an increase of 19. For the state, then, tenancy has been increasing, and at a much more rapid rate than for the United States as a whole. This comparatively greater increase in tenancy in Arkansas between 1880 and 1910 may be accounted for by a greater increase in land values, and an increase in the proportion of negro farmers. For while value of land and buildings for the United States only a little more than doubled during this period, per acre values of Arkansas land and buildings almost trebled;<sup>2</sup> and in addition, the percentage of negro farmers of all farmers

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note that the county (Crittenden) in which the proportion of tenancy was the greatest in 1910, had the highest land valuation per acre, and the highest percentage of negro farmers. The figures are: Per cent tenancy, 88.7, per cent of farmers who are negroes, 92.9, value of land per A., \$38.70.

<sup>2</sup>Values of land and buildings per acre: U.S. 1880, \$19.02, 1910, \$39.60; Arkansas, 1880, \$6.16, 1910, \$17.75. (13th Census, V, 91, 95).



increased from 26.3 to 29.4 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

While there has been an increase in tenancy for the state as a whole, this increase has been most marked in those counties in which the single crop system prevails. Tables 16 and 17 show that in Groups I, II and III, in which farming is relatively diversified, the percentage of tenancy has increased, during the 30 year period 1880-1910, 15.7, 15.3, and 12.6, respectively, while for the heavily planted, or single crop counties the increase has been 20.8, 27.2, and 22.9 in Groups IV, V and VI, respectively.

Table 16. per cent of all Farmers who are Tenants,  
by Groups: 1880-1910.

| Group            | : | 1880 | : | 1890 | : | 1900 | : | 1910 |
|------------------|---|------|---|------|---|------|---|------|
| I                | : | 10.5 | : | 16.  | : | 28.6 | : | 26.2 |
| II               | : | 21.1 | : | 20.4 | : | 30.7 | : | 36.4 |
| III              | : | 29.  | : | 27.2 | : | 41.7 | : | 41.6 |
| IV               | : | 32.2 | : | 28.3 | : | 48.0 | : | 53.  |
| V                | : | 41.1 | : | 45.7 | : | 60.6 | : | 68.3 |
| VI               | : | 58.5 | : | 66.8 | : | 79.3 | : | 81.4 |
| U.S.             | : | 25.6 | : | 28.4 | : | 35.3 | : | 37.  |
| E. North Central | : | 20.5 | : | 22.8 | : | 26.3 | : | 27.  |
| Arkansas         | : | 30.9 | : | 32.1 | : | 45.4 | : | 50.  |

It will be remembered that in the 10 year period 1900-1910 the increase in percentage of negroes of all farmers was practically the same for both the lightly and heavily planted counties (see Table 7), so that this more rapid increase in tenancy in the single cropped counties cannot be accounted for by any increase in the relative number of negroes. However, Table 16 shows that

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<sup>1</sup>Table 7, Supra.

<sup>2</sup>Statistics for color of farmer were not recorded prior to 1900.





increase in land values between 1880 and 1910 has been most rapid in the heavily planted groups.<sup>1</sup>

Table 17. Average Value Per acre of Improved Land and Buildings,\* by Groups, 1880-1910.

| Group | :Average value per acre:<br>:of improved land and |         | :Increase in per<br>:Per cent:cent of tenancy, |           |
|-------|---|---------|--|-----------|
|       | :buildings (\$)                                   |         | :increase:                                     |           |
|       | : 1880  | : 1910  | :1880-1910:                                    | 1880-1910 |
| I     | : 17.60   | : 50.70 | : 188  | : 15.7    |
| II    | : 20.00   | : 31.41 | : 57   | : 15.3    |
| III   | : 20.70   | : 33.10 | : 60   | : 12.6    |
| IV    | : 19.60   | : 32.30 | : 64   | : 20.8    |
| V     | : 22.10   | : 50.20 | : 127  | : 27.2    |
| VI    | : 30.30   | : 53.50 | : 76   | : 22.9    |

\*Land values are not recorded separately in 1880.

The trend of tenancy from 1880 to 1910, seems, therefore, not to have invalidated the conclusion reached from a study of tenancy in 1910, namely, that type of farming has, as a factor determining form of tenure, played a very small part.

Tho the proportion of negro farmers who were tenants greatly exceeded, in 1910, the proportion of whites who were tenants, the difference was not so great as in 1900. During the decade 1900 to 1910 tenancy was increasing among the whites at a slightly more rapid rate than among negroes.<sup>2</sup> In 1900 74.4 per cent, and in 1910 76.9 per cent of all negroes were tenants, an increase of 2.5, while of the white farmers 35.1 per cent were tenants in 1900, 38.6 per cent in 1910, an increase of 3.5. This difference between the rate of increase

<sup>1</sup>Group I is left out of account, for as has been repeatedly said, it is not comparable to the other groups.

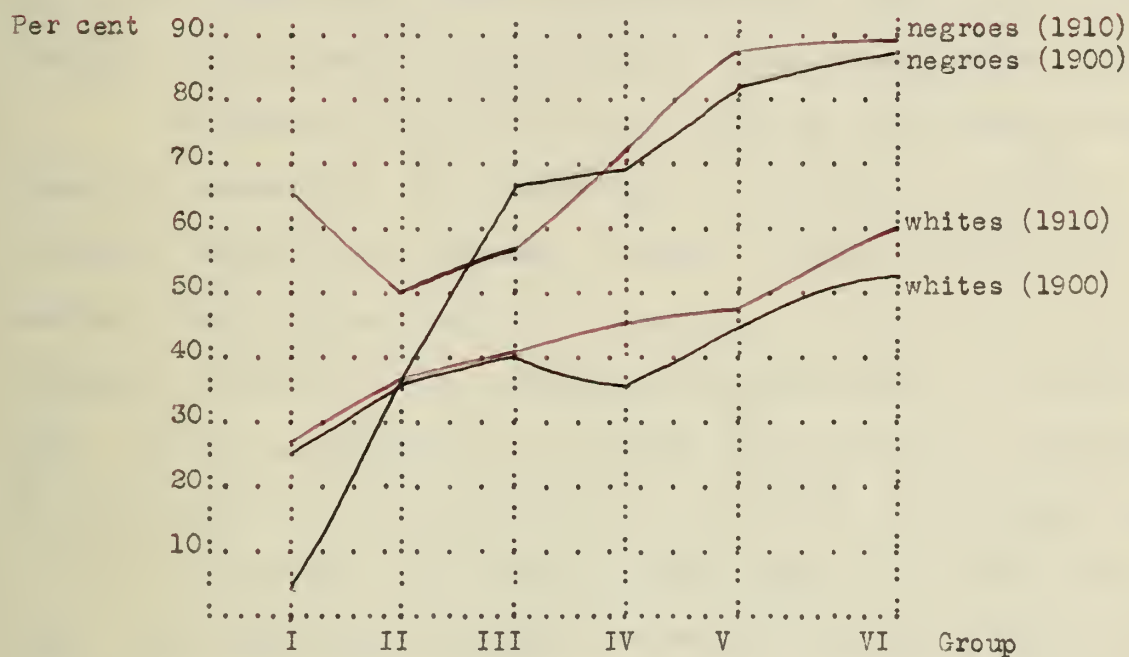
<sup>2</sup>See Table 12.



# Tenancy Among Negro and White Farmers

Compared by Groups

1900 and 1910.







of tenancy of blacks and whites was somewhat more marked in the case of the heavily planted counties, as is shown by the accompanying graph.

The facts in the case having been ascertained, it remains to explain them. Why is high priced land more often rented than low priced land? Why is tenancy more common among negroes than among whites? Why is type of farming a slight, but relatively unimportant factor in determining tenure of farmer?

The answer to the first is simple, and has been pointed out very clearly by economists.<sup>1</sup> The average farmer - the man who is willing to till the soil - has very little capital. If land is high he is unable to buy, and ownership remains in the hands of the landlord. If land is low, so that it is within the reach of modest savings, the ownership passes to the farmer himself. And from the standpoint of the owner, unless the land is good enough to yield fairly high crops, rents will be so small as to discourage leasing.

The answer to the second is equally simple, and is like unto the first. The negro is less frequently the owner of the land he farms than is his white neighbor because he is less frequently in possession of the means of purchase. Tho a disinclination for work and a lack of thrift characterize all Southern farmers, these characteristics are inseparably linked with the name of the black man. The negro earns little, because he does not care to work for more. So long as there is a paper sack of corn meal and a jug of sorghum in the closet, the favorite pastimes of fishing, loafing, and going to meetin' are likely to be but slightly interfered with. And if by chance nature smiles on him and money is in hand above that required for subsistence, it is

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<sup>1</sup>Taylor, Outlines of Agricultural Economics, Hibbard, in Essays on land tenure, Q.J.E. X, 34, XXV, 710, Stewart, Land Tenure in the United States, et. al.



the rare dorky who thinks of applying it to the purchase of a farm. It is said that during the winters of 1916 and 1917, when war prices had resulted in large profits for cotton farmers, Fords found a ready sale thruout the rural districts of eastern Arkansas, and teams were kept continually busy pulling joy-riding negroes out of the mud holes of the country roads.

Not only is there a disinclination to earn more than a living, and inability to save. The average negro is indifferent to ownership. He dislikes being tied down to a particular locality. He wants to be foot loose, so that he may wander whither the spirit moves him. To the indulgence of this restless spirit, ownership is a serious barrier.

It is claimed, too, that the credit system of the South, under the control of which the negro has been brought even more completely than the white farmer because his resources are as a rule smaller, prevents him from accumulating capital, even were he so inclined. For under this system a merchant is able to get a monopoly of the farmer's trade, and charge him as high prices as he pleases for his supplies. The result is that the negro farmer seldom finishes the season with any cash on hand.

It may be asked at this point why it is that, since his financial condition is so wretched, the negro can attain even the position of tenant. Why does he not work in the cotton fields as an ordinary laborer?

The answer is that in reality a large number of the tenants<sup>1</sup> of the South are little more than laborers. Especially is this true of tenants under the plantation system, a system which is closely identified with the negro. Under this system the land is worked largely by share croppers who supply practically no capital and are under the direct supervision of the landlord

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<sup>1</sup> So designated by the Census Bureau.





or his manager. They resemble tenants only in as much as they are paid in a share of the crop, rather than in wages, and have somewhat greater liberty in the disposal of their time.

This system of plantation farming by share croppers, rather than by wage laborers has sprung both from the necessity of the planter, and the preference of the negro. The planter cannot be sure that his labor will stay with him thruout the season, unless payment is deferred until after the gathering of the crop, for the negro is unreliable. When he is paid by the week, no one is surprised if he fails to report for work on Monday morning. He may be taking a few days vacation, or he may have left the country for parts unknown. In either case, the planter's crop suffers. The only way to secure his attention to his job is to give him an interest in the crop, and to withhold payment as far as possible until after the crop is made. The share crop system - under which the negro furnishes the labor, the landlord, the capital and the supervision, each getting one half of the crop, is the result. It has found favor with the negro, because under it he is - tho more or less supervised - freer to do as he pleases than is the wage laborer.

In all of the great alluvial cotton producing counties of Arkansas, and in a few of the upland counties, the plantation system is found. The extent of the system is considerable, embracing 49 per cent of the total improved area of 23 counties.<sup>1</sup> The number of plantation tenants is 45.2 per cent of the total number of farmers in these counties, and almost one third (32.8 per cent)

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<sup>1</sup>These counties are: Arkansas, Ashley, Chicot, Crittenden, Cross, Desha, Drew, Hempstead, Jackson, Jefferson, Lafayette, Lee, Lincoln, Little River, Lonoke, Miller, Mississippi, Monroe, Phillips, Prairie, Pulaski, St. Francis, and Woodruff (information from Bureau of Census).



of all the tenants in the State.<sup>1</sup> Since the 23 counties in which plantations were enumerated include only those in which the system is most prevalent, it is evident that for the state the percentage of tenants who are plantation tenants and therefore share croppers is even higher. So that the amount of tenancy, in the ordinary meaning of the term, is greatly exaggerated by a literal interpretation of the Census reports. At least one third of all tenants could, with just as much logic, have been classed as farm hands.

Since the plantation counties are the ones in which the negro farmers are the most numerous it follows that what has been said of the share crop system applies especially to them. A large number of negro farmers, then, have in reality not even attained the status of tenant, but are on the rung of the economic ladder next below. And this is so, largely because they lack both the thrift and the desire to accumulate sufficient capital to buy even a mule and a few implements,- the prerequisites for tenancy - much less to invest in a farm.

It is somewhat surprising that the tenancy which is invariably found in connection with cotton production is attributable in such small measure to the nature of the crop itself. For undoubtedly cotton is admirably adapted to tenant farming, both from the standpoint of the landlord, and of the renter. It is a crop which is harvested and planted within a single season, which is not likely to prove a failure, and the only crop which invariably finds a ready market in the South. Then, too, it is the cotton crop upon which the crop

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<sup>1</sup>There were in 1918 2,687 plantations in the 23 counties to which reference was made, having over 5 tenants per plantation. Of these 1,518 had from 5 to 9 tenants apiece, 714 from 10 to 19 tenants, 364 from 20 to 49, and 78 over 50. These plantations averaged 615 acres, 394 being improved land. Tenant farms averaged 27.4 acres of all land, 25.4 acres of improved land.- 13th Census, V, Plantations in the South, 877 et. seq.





lien system rests - the system which has long borne the blame for the impoverishment of the Southern farmer which has to such a large extent kept him landless.

It has already been remarked that the cotton crop called for comparatively small investment in buildings, machinery and livestock, and this also would seem to favor tenancy. The fact is, however, that the single cropping demands but little capital, the diversified farmers of the state manage to get along on but very little more - the undoubtedly this saving is effected at the expense of efficient farming. Table 16 shows the average amounts of the various classes of investments per farm for each group of counties.

Table 18. Average Investment per Farm and Average Size of Farm, by Groups, 1910.

| Group      | :Average Size of farm,: |       | Average Values (Dollars) per |           |           |            |
|------------|-------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
|            | : acres                 |       | farm                         |           |           |            |
|            | Total:                  | Impr. | Land                         | Buildings | Machinery | Live Stock |
| I          | : 113.:                 | 46    | : 14.40:                     | 395       | : 102     | : 422      |
| II         | : 93 :                  | 36    | : 9.70:                      | 266       | : 68      | : 345      |
| III        | : 90 :                  | 38    | : 11.20:                     | 295       | : 80      | : 341      |
| IV         | : 70 :                  | 37    | : 12.80:                     | 264       | : 75      | : 302      |
| V          | : 64 :                  | 31    | : 20.40:                     | 280       | : 74      | : 349      |
| VI         | : 47 :                  | 30    | : 28.30:                     | 261       | : 73      | : 319      |
| The State: | 81 :                    | 37    | : 14.13:                     | 294       | : 78      | : 345      |
| The U.S. : | 138 :                   | 75    | : 32.40:                     | 995       | : 199     | : 774      |

The investments in buildings, machinery and live stock in the single cropping counties range but little lower than in the diversified counties;<sup>1</sup> so that it may be concluded that, as the two types of farming are practiced in Arkansas, the amount of investment required is almost the same for each. It will be noticed, however, that as cotton comes to occupy a place of greater and greater importance in the cropping system, the size of farm decreases. From an

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<sup>1</sup>Group I is again disregarded.



average improved acreage of 36 for Group II the farm dwindles to 30 acres in Group VI, where the extreme type of single cropping is practiced. This diminution in size is probably largely due to the intensive nature of the cotton crop.

It has been shown by investigators, however, that smallness of farm is, in general, correlated with ownership.<sup>1</sup> There are, then, two factors which grow out of the nature of the cotton crop - one of which makes for, the other against tenancy: (1) the completeness with which the crop satisfies the requirement of both land lord and tenant for a one-season, sure, and readily marketable crop, and (2) the fact that a comparatively small amount of land is required. And an examination of the facts relating to tenancy indicate that these two opposing forces almost balance each other, so that the system of cropping has but little effect upon the form of tenure which prevails. The price of land and the color of farmer seem to be the most important determiners of tenancy, and it is because cotton is grown for the most part on the best lands and by negroes that single cropping and renting are so closely correlated.

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<sup>1</sup>Hibbard, Tenancy in the North Central States, Q.J.E. XXV, 719, et. alt.





# APPENDIX A

## COTTON ACREAGE, PRODUCTION, AND PRICE FOR

U.S. & ARKANSAS, 1880-1917

|      | : United States : |             | : Arkansas : |             |          |
|------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------|
| Year | : Acres           | : Bales     | : Acres      | : Bales     | : Price  |
|      | :(add 000):       | :(add 000): | :(add 000):  | :(add 000): | :(cents) |
| 1880 | : 15820           | : 6606      | : 1147       | : 675       | : 12.0   |
| 1881 | : 16572           | : 5456      | : 1181       | : 425       | : 11.3   |
| 1882 | : 16134           | : 6950      | : 1110       | : 700       | : 12.1   |
| 1883 | : 16651           | : 5713      | : 1188       | : 570       | : 10.6   |
| 1884 | :                 | :           | :            | :           | : 10.6   |
| 1885 | : 18249           | : 6575      | : 1373       | : 504       | : 10.5   |
| 1886 | : 18335           | : 6499      | : 1354       | : 676       | : 9.4    |
| 1887 | : 18522           | : 7047      | : 1388       | : 700       | : 10.2   |
| 1888 | : 18937           | : 6939      | : 1416       | : 700       | : 10.2   |
| 1889 | :                 | :           | :            | :           | : 10.7   |
| 1890 | : 19469           | : 8674      | : 1458       | : 830       | : 11.5   |
| 1891 | : 19018           | : 9018      | : 1400       | : 925       | : 9.0    |
| 1892 | : 15881           | : 6640      | : 1148       | : 600       | : 7.6    |
| 1893 | : 19525           | : 7493      | : 1867       | : 679       | : 8.2    |
| 1894 | : 23687           | : 9901      | : 1483       | : 748       | : 7.6    |
| 1895 | : 20184           | : 7116      | : 1186       | : 520       | : 6.5    |
| 1896 | : 23273           | : 8532      | : 1542       | : 605       | : 8.1    |
| 1897 | : 24315           | : 10897     | : 1619       | : 942       | : 7.7    |
| 1898 | : 24967           | : 11189     | : 1876       | : 919       | : 6.     |
| 1899 | : 24275           | : 9393      | : 1641       | : 702       | : 6.6    |
| 1900 | : 25758           | : 10102     | : 1742       | : 801       | : 9.6    |
| 1901 | : 27220           | : 9582      | : 1854       | : 712       | : 8.6    |
| 1902 | : 27114           | : 10588     | : 1901       | : 949       | : 8.9    |
| 1903 | : 28016           | : 9819      | : 1925       | : 715       | : 11.2   |
| 1904 | : 30053           | : 13451     | : 2051       | : 901       | : 12.1   |
| 1905 | : 26117           | : 10495     | : 1718       | : 598       | : 9.6    |
| 1906 | : 31374           | : 12983     | : 2097       | : 894       | : 11.    |
| 1907 | : 31311           | : 11057     | : 1950       | : 751       | : 11.9   |
| 1908 | : 32444           | : 13086     | : 2296       | : 996       | : 10.5   |
| 1909 | : 32044           | : 10072     | : 2153       | : 697       | : 12.1   |
| 1910 | : 32403           | : 11568     | : 2238       | : 798       | : 15.1   |
| 1911 | : 36045           | : 15553     | : 2363       | : 908       | : 13.    |
| 1912 | : 34283           | : 13488     | : 1991       | : 770       | : 11.5   |
| 1913 | : 37089           | : 13982     | : 2502       | : 1038      | : 12.4   |
| 1914 | : 36832           | : 15905     | : 2480       | : 999       | : 7.3    |
| 1915 | : 31412           | : 11068     | : 2170       | : 789       | : 12.2   |
| 1916 | : 34985           | : 11363     | : 2600       | : 1102      | : 17.2   |
| 1917 | : 34600           | :           | : 2577       | :           | :        |



# APPENDIX B

## COUNTIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TENURE OF FARMER SHOWING

VALUE OF LAND PER ACRE, DEGREE OF DIVERSITY, PER

CENT NEGRO FARMERS OF ALL FARMERS AND PER

CENT OF NEGROES AND WHITES WHO ARE

TENANTS, FOR EACH (1910).

| Class A                             | : | :                         | : | :                         | : | :                               | % negroes |                           |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (20-40% of all farmers are tenants) | : | % Farmers who are tenants | : | Value of land per A. (\$) | : | Type of farming: of all farmers | :         | % negroes who are tenants |
|                                     | : | tenants                   | : | A. (\$)                   | : | (Group)                         | :         | farmers : tenants :       |
| Baxter                              | : | 34                        | : | 7.32                      | : | II                              | :         | 0 : 34 : 0                |
| Burton                              | : | 21                        | : | 28.07                     | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 21 : 0                |
| Boone                               | : | 30                        | : | 10.90                     | : | I                               | :         | 0 : : 0                   |
| Bradley                             | : | 21                        | : | 7.38                      | : | III                             | :         | 25 : 19 : 30              |
| Calhoun                             | : | 22                        | : | 5.96                      | : | III                             | :         | 33 : 19 : 30              |
| Carroll                             | : | 24                        | : | 5.96                      | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 24 : 0                |
| Clark                               | : | 37                        | : | 7.38                      | : | III                             | :         | 27 : 34 : 45              |
| Cleburne                            | : | 27                        | : | 7.07                      | : | II                              | :         | 0 : 27 : 0                |
| Cleveland                           | : | 33                        | : | 6.14                      | : | III                             | :         | 29 : 28 : 46              |
| Columbia                            | : | 37                        | : | 8.47                      | : | IV                              | :         | 40 : 26 : 53              |
| Dallas                              | : | 25                        | : | 6.26                      | : | III                             | :         | 28 : 21 : 36              |
| Fulton                              | : | 32                        | : | 5.7                       | : | II                              | :         | 0 : 32 : 0                |
| Garland                             | : | 23                        | : | 11.44                     | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 23 : 0                |
| Grant                               | : | 20                        | : | 6.85                      | : | III                             | :         | 10 : 18 : 26              |
| Hot Spring                          | : | 26                        | : | 8.35                      | : | II                              | :         | 4 : 26 : 31               |
| Izard                               | : | 38                        | : | 4.76                      | : | II                              | :         | 1 : 38 : 0                |
| Madison                             | : | 25                        | : | 6.69                      | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 25 : 0                |
| Montgomery                          | : | 27                        | : | 6.24                      | : | II                              | :         | 2 : 27 : 0                |
| Nevada                              | : | 36                        | : | 6.87                      | : | III                             | :         | 29 : 26 : 60              |
| Newton                              | : | 25                        | : | 4.90                      | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 25 : 0                |
| Ouichata                            | : | 32                        | : | 7.04                      | : | III                             | :         | 56 : 23 : 40              |
| Pike                                | : | 33                        | : | 8.71                      | : | II                              | :         | 5 : 32 : 50               |
| Polk                                | : | 22                        | : | 7.14                      | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 14 : 50               |
| Saline                              | : | 32                        | : | 10.19                     | : | II                              | :         | 12 : 32 : 50              |
| Scott                               | : | 37                        | : | 7.85                      | : | III                             | :         | 5 : 37 : 0                |
| Searcy                              | : | 26                        | : | 6.34                      | : | I                               | :         | 6 : 26 : 0                |
| Sevier                              | : | 37                        | : | 9.50                      | : | II                              | :         | 14 : 34 : 54              |
| Sharp                               | : | 34                        | : | 5.90                      | : | II                              | :         | 0 : 34 : 0                |
| Stone                               | : | 27                        | : | 4.71                      | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 27 : 0                |
| Union                               | : | 33                        | : | 6.28                      | : | III                             | :         | 37 : 22 : 52              |
| Van Buren                           | : | 23                        | : | 5.40                      | : | II                              | :         | 1 : 23 : 0                |
| Washington                          | : | 23                        | : | 21.03                     | : | I                               | :         | 0 : 23 : 0                |
| White                               | : | 38                        | : | 9.90                      | : | III                             | :         | 3 : 38 : 57               |





# APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

## COUNTIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TENURE OF FARMER SHOWING

VALUE OF LAND PER ACRE, DEGREE OF DIVERSITY, PER

CENT NEGRO FARMERS OF ALL FARMERS AND PER

CENT OF NEGROES AND WHITES WHO ARE

TENANTS, FOR EACH (1910).

| Class B<br>(40-60% of all<br>farmers are<br>tenants) | % Farmers<br>who are<br>tenants | Value of<br>land per<br>A. (\$) | Type of<br>farming:<br>(Group) | % Negroes<br>of all<br>farmers | % Whites<br>who are<br>tenants | % Negroes<br>who are<br>tenants |
|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Arkansas   | 46                              | 27.75                           | I                              | 30                             | 38                             | 67                              |
| Ashley   | 59                              | 14.40                           | V                              | 57                             | 27                             | 83                              |
| Clay   | 51                              | 23.84                           | III                            | 0                              | 51                             | 0                               |
| Conway   | 52                              | 14.97                           | IV                             | 38                             | 50                             | 60                              |
| Crawford   | 44                              | 16.35                           | III                            | 6                              | 43                             | 70                              |
| Craighead  | 57                              | 24.63                           | II                             | 0                              | 51                             | 0                               |
| Drew   | 57                              | 10.90                           | IV                             | 56                             | 36                             | 73                              |
| Faulkner   | 44                              | 7.81                            | IV                             | 17                             | 42                             | 50                              |
| Franklin   | 47                              | 12.14                           | III                            | 13                             | 48                             | 53                              |
| Greene   | 49                              | 18.39                           | II                             | 0                              | 49                             | 0                               |
| Hempstead  | 51                              | 11.95                           | IV                             | 48                             | 40                             | 60                              |
| Howard   | 41                              | 8.51                            | III                            | 20                             | 35                             | 66                              |
| Independence   | 46                              | 12.22                           | III                            | 2                              | 46                             | 68                              |
| Johnson  | 45                              | 12.96                           | III                            | 1                              | 46                             | 0                               |
| Lafayette  | 43                              | 11.39                           | III                            | 43                             | 33                             | 57                              |
| Lawrence   | 58                              | 18.58                           | III                            | 2                              | 58                             | 0                               |
| Little River   | 58                              | 12.43                           | III                            | 48                             | 42                             | 76                              |
| Logan  | 45                              | 13.88                           | III                            | 1                              | 45                             | 0                               |
| Marion   | 45                              | 8.24                            | II                             | 1                              | 45                             | 0                               |
| Miller   | 45                              | 11.13                           | III                            | 27                             | 37                             | 70                              |
| Perry  | 47                              | 10.00                           | IV                             | 10                             | 46                             | 62                              |
| Pope   | 46                              | 11.77                           | IV                             | 6                              | 43                             | 67                              |
| Prairie  | 51                              | 20.05                           | III                            | 32                             | 40                             | 79                              |
| Randolph   | 45                              | 14.04                           | II                             | 1                              | 45                             | 0                               |
| Sebastian  | 50                              | 27.17                           | III                            | 3                              | 51                             | 70                              |
| Yell   | 54                              | 14.12                           | IV                             | 4                              | 54                             | 60                              |



# APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

COUNTIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TENURE OF FARMER SHOWING

VALUE OF LAND PER ACRE, DEGREE OF DIVERSITY, PER

CENT NEGRO FARMERS OF ALL FARMERS AND PER

CENT OF NEGROES AND WHITES WHO ARE

TENANTS, FOR EACH (1910).

| Class C<br>(Over 60% of all<br>farmers are<br>tenants | : | :                               | : | :                             | : | :                               | : |
|---|---|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| % Farmers<br>who are<br>tenants                       | : | Value of<br>land per<br>A. (\$) | : | Type of<br>farming<br>(Group) | : | % Negroes<br>of all<br>farmers  | : |
| :   | : | :                               | : | :                             | : | % Whites<br>who are<br>tenants  | : |
| :   | : | :                               | : | :                             | : | % Negroes<br>who are<br>tenants | : |
| Chicot  | : | 84                              | : | 26.14                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Crittenden  | : | 88                              | : | 38.70                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Cross   | : | 71                              | : | 17.20                         | : | IV                              | : |
| Desha   | : | 84                              | : | 20.76                         | : | V                               | : |
| Jackson   | : | 74                              | : | 22.41                         | : | V                               | : |
| Jefferson   | : | 82                              | : | 25.08                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Lee   | : | 74                              | : | 22.13                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Lincoln   | : | 68                              | : | 13.71                         | : | V                               | : |
| Lonoke  | : | 68                              | : | 23.09                         | : | IV                              | : |
| Mississippi   | : | 81                              | : | 44.41                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Monroe  | : | 78                              | : | 21.14                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Phillips  | : | 81                              | : | 27.67                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Pulaski   | : | 62                              | : | 10.00                         | : | V                               | : |
| Poinsett  | : | 62                              | : | 23.70                         | : | III                             | : |
| St. Francis   | : | 76                              | : | 21.97                         | : | VI                              | : |
| Woodruff  | : | 85                              | : | 31.27                         | : | VI                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 87                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 92                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 51                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 88                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 51                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 70                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 48                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 86                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 86                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 48                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 79                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 63                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 37                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 83                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 45                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 52                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 86                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 53                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 68                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 93                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 73                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 62                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 84                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 90                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 40                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 85                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 63                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 36                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 79                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 15                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 60                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 89                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 76                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 55                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 83                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 85                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 78                              | : |
|   | : |                                 | : |                               | : | 88                              | : |





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